



**GANDHI'S APPROACH TO  
HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM AND  
PAN-ISLAMISM (1890-1930)**

**ABSTRACT**

*Thesis submitted for the Degree of*  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
**IN**  
**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**BY**

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After completing his education, Gandhi returned to India. Then Gandhi went to South Africa in 1893 on the call <sup>of</sup> a Muslim Merchant. He faced many humiliations on the way. In South Africa Indians were called 'Coolies'. As Gandhiji observed, "we are the 'Asian dirt to be heartily crushed, we are 'squealed coolies with truthless tongues".<sup>1</sup>

The condition of Indians in South Africa, distressed him, and he determined to improve them. In South Africa there was not the problem of Hindu-Muslim disunity, there were the common problems of both the communities, which were facing humiliations under the South African Government. Both the communities along with Gandhiji solved these problems against that government, Gandhiji expressed his views on Hindu-Muslim Unity in South Africa : "Even as a boy at School, I had many Muslim Friends..... I have ever since the days of my youth had a longing to see the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans obliterated".<sup>2</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Collected works of M.K. Gandhi Vol.II, pp. 67-68.

2. M.K. Gandhi : Gandhi and Communal Unity.

With such feelings and experiences Gandhi returned to India in 1915. "I landed in India with ideas of Hindu- Mohammadan unity and to Turkish question, and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions".<sup>1</sup>

But in India the Muslim problems were different than those of South African. There was the main problems, of employment, education and reservation of seats in the legislatures. There were some social problems also. These problems were created by the British government and by the extremist Hindu leaders. The extremist Hindu leaders started some movements. Among these Shuddhi, Sangathan, Shivaji, and Ganapati, Festivals, Aryasamaj, and Cow-Protection Hindi-Urdu controversy, and organization of the Hindu Mahasabha were prominent. The British Govt, suspected them as the main instigators of mutiny against the British Raj and

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1. Ibid. p. 125.



suspended them. They suppressed them as much as they could. Khilafat Movement was a Pan-Islamic Movement, was the result of conquest of Turkey.

Before mutiny (1857) there was a remarkable unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Hindus were loyal to the Mughal crown. As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote.

"Common life had developed among Hindus and Muslims a sense of brotherhood and sympathy which was able to resist the indoctrination of hundred years".<sup>1</sup>

That is why the struggle of 1857 took a national and racial but not communal turn. In the fight for freedom, Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder. Their common objective was to liberate themselves from the British Yoke.

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1. Quoted in History of the freedom movement in India by Tarachand, p.46.

Though mutiny was result of hatred of both the communities against the Britishraj, but the Muslims became the special target of British hatred after the revolt. Under the British rule the learned, scholars, theologians and poets, craftsmen and artists were left without patronage. Many of those whose hereditary occupation was fighting were rendered jobless. Many lost their lands and property and their bread-winners became paupers. The young men faced a bleak future as the doors of Government service were closed upon them. Muslim property was either confiscated or destroyed. In several places Muslim population was massacred and the Wahabi leaders were hunted. Throughout Northern India for summary execution. The last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775-1862) was arrested and tried by a Military Court, was convicted for treason, conspiracy, rebellion and murder and ultimately exiled to Rangoon with his favourite Begum Zinat Mahal. His two sons and one grandson were shot dead. He also died in Rangoon after 4 years on Nov. 7 1862.

Towards the Hindus, their (British Government ) attitude was generous and they employed them willingly in Junior administrative posts, where they cooperated with their superiors wholeheartedly and even with complete submission.

Russell wrote : "Our antagonism to the followers of Islam is far sponger than that between us and the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu. They are unquestionally more dangerous to our rule".

In such a situation where the Muslims were being suppressed by the British Government, the Hindus were taking the full advantages of this patronage. They had achieved remarkable progress, acquired riches through landownership and commerce, and monopolised the services. By their unreserved devotion to western education, they had won the favour of the rulers on the other hand, the Muslims had kept aloof, nursing their grievances and were left behind. The Muslims were backward in getting the English education, because it opposed the Muslim orthodox leaders. Their Chief

objection to English education was that it weakened the faith of young Indians and opened the way for the propagation of christianity among them".

It was Sir Syyed Ahmad Khan who tried his best to make them accept imparting the English education, and started 'Anglo Oriental College in Aliqarh. He played a role in proving that the Muslims were not the Chief investigators against the British Raj. He expressed Muslims loyalty towards the British Raj and tried his best to winning the heart of the British . The cause of Muslim backwardness was the British policy of 'Divide and Rule'. Lt. John Coke, Commandant, wrote at the time of Sepoy Mutiny , "our endeavours should lie to up hold in full force the separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to a malgamate them. 'Divide et impera' should be the principle of Indian government". At first the policy of 'Divide and Rule' worked in favour of the Hindus, as for as the British dispossessed

the Muslim rulers. They looked upon the Muslims as their enemies and favoured the Hindus as a counterpoise to them. The partition of Bengal was the result of British policy. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal and divided it into a Hindu and Muslim Bengal. He wrote in this concern on 10th April 1904. 'Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided with pull in several different ways. One of the main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule' The Bengali Hindus resisted the partition of their province with all the vehemence at their command. They felt that it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the British Government to drive a wedge at the growing solidarity of the Bengali speaking people and to create differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. Some prominent Hindu leaders like Surendra Nath Banarjee, Babu Ananth Bandhu Guha, Balgangadhar Tilak organised several meetings and protested. Partition of Bengal was supported by Muslims but when the Hindu leaders

opposed it the communal riots broke out throughout the country, the British Government annuled it in 1911. Thus Hindu-Muslim rift resulted.

Some problem of Muslims, were created by Hindu Movements like, cow-protection , Shuddhi, Sangathan, Aryasamaj, Hindu Mahasabha, tc. some Hindu leaders like Swami Dayanand, Mahadev Govind Ranade Swami Shraddhanand and Balgangadhar Tilak led their movements to organise the Hindu culture and feelings. The Aryasamaj was led by Dayanand who taught the Hindus, 'Back to the Vedas'. Swami Dayanand had a two-fold object in view. On the one side, he desired to purify Hindu Society and on the other, to prevent Hindus from drifting towards other faiths.

Cow protection was another plank in the programme of the Arya Samaj which led to serious trouble, . The Hindus asked the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice on the plea that it hurt their feelings.

But the Muslims slaughtered the cows, as their religious ceremony . These arguments created communal riots. In reply of cow-slaughter . The Hindus began the music before mosque at the time .

Ganapati and Shivaji Festival were led by an orthodox Hindu leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra. These Movements were organised by Hindus with pomp and show, with music and processions. Their processions passed before the mosques and disturbed in the Muslims, in their Namaz. Tilak said

"Religion thought and devotion may be possible even in solitude, yet demonstration and eclat are essential to the awakening of the masses. Through these festivals Tilak inspired the Hindu Society ."

Suddhi and Sangathan were such activities which sharpened the Muslim feelings against the Hindus. Swami Shradhdhanand led this movement.

"The first evil, which is also very prominent, has been the conversion of Hindus to other religions".

- The Hindu Mahasabha had also resolved that those non-Hindus who had faith in Hindu Sanskars and Hindu Dharma should be taken within the fold of Hindu Dharma.

The Shuddhi and Sangathan Movement of the Hindus were answered by Tanzim and Tabligh movement of the Muslims. Each aimed at the consolidation of their communities and increasing its numbers by conversion or Shuddhi.

Pan-Islamic movement was a religious issue. In the first decade of the 20th century the vast Ottoman empire was made the target by the European powers. In 1911, Tripoli, an Ottoman dominion became a victim of European aggression. The British attitude towards the war with Italy was one of neutrality, outwardly, but secretly it supplied arms and the other materials to rebels against the Ottomans. Turkey occupied a



special place in the hearts of Indian Muslims not only because of its being a great Islamic power, but also because it was the seat of their Caliph. The Tripoli-Balkan incident Pained much to Indian Muslims, specially to Ali Brothers. They led Khilafat Movement, in India and Muslims accepted Gandhi their leader to launch this Movement. Gandhiji got the best opportunity to unite the two communities, and became the hero of Khilafat. He attended the All- India Khilafat conference at Delhi. He supported the resolutions passed, toured the country, with Ali Brothers delivered speeches in the joint meetings of Hindu and Muslims. For this purpose Gandhi started Non-Cooperation Movement. The Muslims and the Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were solidly with the Congress supporting the Khilafat cause. Many Hindu left their jobs in Government , offices. The students left the colleges. Gandhi himself surrendered his titles and decorations "valuable as these honours have been to me", he wrote to viceroy, "I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussalman countrymen

have to labour under wrong done to their religious sentiment".<sup>1</sup> Hakim Ajmal Khan was one of the pioneers to renounce his titles. Khaliquezamman boycotted the law court. When Non-cooperation was at its peak, Gandhiji suspended it due to Chauri-Chaura incident on Feb, 5, 1922.

The Muslim and the Hindu leaders angrily protested against the decision of Gandhi's suspension of Non-cooperation movement. The Congress session was held at Delhi on Feb, 24, and 23, 1922 and criticised Gandhi. Ali Brothers Critised Gandhi, that he had not consulted any one before his decision while the Muslims had elected him the sole leader of Khilafat Movement. Jinnah had already left the Congress. He criticised Gandhi and the Khilafat Movement saying that the movement was a religious one and it should not be mixed in politics and Congress should not take part

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1. Gandhi's letter to the viceroy 2nd August, 1920.

in it. When Gandhi suspended Non-cooperation, Jinnah told him,

"Once you have decided to March, let there be no retreat under any circumstances".

Gandhi could not correctly read the Muslim Minds. As the Khilafat ended the Muslims themselves began to drift from Gandhi and the Congress what Gandhi had expected from this movement nobody knew.

Ali brothers also made a mistake to launch this Movement in India, and accept , Gandhi as the sole leader of this Movement.

Gandhi's Pan-Islamic Movement was weapon for his political benefit. Unfortunately, neither Gandhi nor Ali-Brothers succeeded into uniting to the two communities. He preached unity of heart <sup>and</sup> mutual tolerance.  
/

"either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of Cultures which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strenthen..."

Gandhiji had rejected the inter-marriages and inter dinings, because these could lead to conflicts than promoting unity.

"So long as each is free to observe his or her religion I can see no moral objection to inter marriage. But I do not believe that these unions can bring peace".<sup>1</sup>

He believed in his religion. He did not like to change religion. He emphasised that all religions being equally true, change over from one religion to another had no meaning. Equal respect, to each religion was his answer to religious conflict.

Whenever the communal riots broke out, Gandhiji fasted in Penance of theseriots.

"If they (Hindu-Muslim) have loved me truly they will do penance with me for the grave sin of denying God in their hearts".

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1. 4.1 June 4, 1931.

In spite of all these fasts, he could not achieve Hindu Muslim Unity.

On the Question of cow-sacrifice, Gandhiji was sincere. "For me the cow is the personification of innocence Cow protection means the protection of the weak and the helpless". The Hindu leaders blamed the Muslims for cow-slaughter. Gandhiji admitted and tried to solve this problem through compromise between both the communities. He wanted to change the Muslim hearts on this issue. According to Gandhi the Muslims were not solely responsible for cow-slaughter, but mostly were to the Hindus. On the Muslim point of view, cow-slaughter was allowed by their religion and it was cheaper than other flesh.

Gandhi held that cow-protection can be secured only with the voluntary cooperation and help of the Muslims. So he advised Hindus not to antagonise Muslims for the sake of cow-protection. He also told the Hindus, not to play Music before mosques, while they were offering their Namaz.

Gandhiji was not in favour of separate electorate for the Muslims. In his opinion "Separate Electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They pre-supposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests.

Nehru Report published on 15th August 1928. This Report was rejected by the Muslims because the report rejected the Muslim demand for reservation of seats in Bengal and Punjab.

Thus the author comes to the conclusion that Gandhi's talked about Muslim problems, emotionally. He gave his solution as unity of hearts , tolerance and mutual friendship. He could not solve their political and economic problems which were at the heart of riots and other manifestations of hatred and mutual intolerance. The problem in South Africa was not a Hindu-Muslim Problem . It was essentially black Asians Vs white Englishmen problems . So what was applicable in South Africa could not be a cure in India. His leadership of Khilafat Movement instead of Uniting the two

Communities separated them further after its sudden suspension by the Mahatma. That drifted the Muslims away from the Congress. They kept aloof from the subsequent movements of the Congress because the Mahasabha leaders came closer with both the Mahatma and the Indian National Congress, so much so that prominent leaders of the Mahasabha were given berths into the Congress Working Committee itself. However Mahatma diagnosed the symptoms but could not diagnose the disease which was political and economic in nature and not religious at all. It was the political and economic interest of the elite of the two communities which separated them rather than purely religious conflict. Communal violence was a manifestation of this disease and created and rooted by British rulers of India in the hearts of both the communities by playing up one against the other through their policy of divide and rule and misrepresentation of history.



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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that Mr. Shiv Narayan  
has completed his Thesis on "GANDHI'S APPROACH  
TO HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM AND PAN-ISLAMISM" (1890-  
1930) under my supervision. The work is original  
and is suitable for submission for the award of  
the degree of Ph.D. in Political Science.

(Sd.) Prof. Moinuz Zafar Khan  
Supervisor

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

## INTRODUCTION

The period of Indian Political History between 1919 and 1930 is the most crucial period of our struggle for freedom. Gandhiji and Ali Brothers emerged on the Indian Political scene as the great leaders of India. They united and brought together the two great communities of India under the banner of Indian National Congress. Gandhiji was unanimously elected as the sole leader of the Khilafat Movement by almost all the prominent leaders of the Muslim Community. It was considered to be the basis of a united free India of the future. It was this period in which entire nation considered 'Mahatma' as the only leader who could bring and keep the Hindu-Muslim unity and solve the Hindu-Muslim Problem for ever.

It was also the period in which the greatest national Movement was launched to oust the British Rule. It was also the period in which hard and fast opinions were formed about the Congress, the Mahatma and the Muslim League. I have undertaken the study of this period to find out as to why Mahatma failed to bring about his cherished goal of the solution of Hindu-Muslim Problem and Indian freedom in spite of so much

confidence that the Muslims reposed in him and followed him in every sense of the word.

Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa after successfully launching his Satyagraha Movement against the British Govt. there. The Hindu-Muslim Unity in that movement in South Africa, inspired him to start the same movement in India. Khilafat and dissatisfaction with British Rule in this country afforded him ready reasons to carry-out the same experiment in India. But in India, Muslims were facing much different problems created by the British Government. If we go back in History, we find that there was no disunity between the two communities in India. The problems of Muslims arose after the Mutiny (1857). The sun of Islam set with the death of Aurangzeb and gradually his successors fell into the position of merely nominal rulers. The last representative of Muslim supremacy in India found an unhonoured grave in Rangoon as a result of British wrath.

Before the battle of Plassey (1757) the Muslim Upper class, being the ruling group, had almost monopolised

government services in both military and civil departments . In the process of British governmental reorganisation at first the Muslim, troops were disbanded, which affected not only a significant number of Muslim officers but also tens of thousands of ordinary soliders. Secondly Hasting's Policy of Anglicisation of revenue administration, threw many Muslim Officers out of their jobs. Thirdly, the land revenue policy of the government ruined the Muslim landed gentry. Fourthly, the abolition of the rural policy in AD.1793, deprived thousands of Muslim policemen from their hereditary mode of employment. As Moinuddin Ahmad Khan writes :

"In the process of the establishment of British rule, the Muslim Upper Classes with their dependents, were not only eliminated from public services but also largely deprived of the sources of their livelihood".<sup>1</sup>

It is now a well-established fact that from the beginning of their supermacy in India, the British did not trust the Muslims. Lord Ellenborough (governal-general) in 1842, not only had a soft corner for the

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1. Moin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan: Muslim Struggle for Freedom in Bengal, pp.7-8, Islamic Foundation, Banglore, 1983.

Hindus, he made no secret of his contempt for the Muslims. For instance, while restoring the gates of the Temple of Somnath, which was sacked by Muhammad of Ghazna, he proclaimed to the Hindu Princess and Chief, that 'the insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged'.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Dalhousie played a decisive role in the annals of British administration in India. In a private letter to one of his friends on August 18, 1853, revealed his mind in a significant passage :

"The king of Oudh seems to be bumpitious. I wish he would be .....to Swallow him before, It would give me satisfaction. The old king of Delhi is dying. If it had not been for the effete folly of the Court (of Directors) I would have ended with him the dynasty of Timour".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by Thompson and Garratt in Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India, p. 353.

2. Law Sir, Alanon (ed) India under Lord Ellenborough, p.66.



The war of 1857 was the ~~main~~ result of the 'suppression. Though it was a revolt of both the communities against the British Raj, but the blame was imposed on the Muslims only under the 'divide and rule policy' of the British.

In the period of Mutiny there was a remarkable unity between the Hindus and Muslims . The Hindus were loyal to the Mughal Crown. They had developed friendly relations on a permanent basis as a result of the common life of centuries. Before the days of British rule, there was no such thing as the Hindu-Muslim Problem in India, As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote in a foreward for the book Eighteen fifty-seven by Surendra Nath Sen"

"Common life had developed among Hindus and Muslims a sense of brother-hood and sympathy which was able to resist the British indoctrination of hundred years. That is why the struggle of 1857 took a national and racial but not communal turn. In the fight for freedom, Hindus and Muslims stood shoulder to shoulder. Their common effort was to liberate themselves from the British Yoke".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Forwarded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in "Eight<sup>een</sup> Fifty-Seven' by Surendra Nath Sen, p. XVIII.

During Mutiny the Hindu-Muslim unity, is also, accepted by the English writers. Justin McCarthy wrote :

"The Fact was that throughout the greater part of the North and North-West of the great Indian Peninsula there was a rebellion of the native races against English power. It was not by any means a merely Military mutiny. It was a combination of Military grievances, national hatred and religious fanaticism against the English occupation of India. The native princess and the native soliders were in it. The Mohammedan and the Hindu forgot their old religious antipathies to join against the christians".<sup>1</sup>

They (Hindu-Muslim) had common traditions and common grievances. They sympathised with one another in their misfortunes. The loss of territory and political power by the Chiefs affected them all . If the higher section was deprived of the titles of authority their estates, army commands and civil offices- the others had lost avenues of employment and positions of influence and profit .

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1. Quoted in History of the Freedom Movement by Tarachand, p. 41.

The learned, scholars, theologians and poets and craftsmen and artists were left without patronage. Many of those whose hereditary occupation was fighting were rendered jobless, and many were obliged to drift into the army of the East India Company."<sup>1</sup>

After Mutiny, in Sept. 1857, Bahadurshah Zafar (1775-1862) was arrested. He was convicted for treason, conspiracy, rebellion and murder and ultimately exiled to Rangoon with his favourite wife Begum Zinat Mahal. His two sons and one grandson were shot dead. He also died in Rangoon after 4 years on Nov. 7, 1862. Since then the Muslims were tortured badly by the British. The Hindus participated on a large scale in the Mutiny. According to Major G.F. Maccum, 'the Mutineers, largely Hindu Soliders from oudh, proclaimed the re-incarnation of the Mughal Emperor, compelling the aged pantloom Bahadur Shah, son of blind Shah Alam, to pose as emperor of India".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tarachand : op-cit. pp. 43-44.

2. See: Maccmunn's : The Armies of India, p.97.

Nevertheless, the Muslims had to suffer more because the British suspected them the most. Russell wrote: "Our antagonism to the followers of Muhammad is far stronger than that between us and the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu".<sup>1</sup>

In several places Muslims population was massacred, and the wahabi leaders were hunted out throughout northern India for summary execution. Hundreds of them, including several distinguished ulema, were blown by the cannon, while others were deported to the Penal settlement of the Andamans. In fact, among the first batch of prisoners to arrive in the Andamans were such well known Wahabi leaders of the revolt as Mufti Mazhar Karim of Delhi and Munshi Inayat Ahmad of Lucknow, followed by the victims of Ambala and Patna wahabi trials. The Nawab of Jhajjar, Ballabgarh, Furrukh nagar and twenty-four Shahazadas were hanged. Muslims property was either confiscated or destroyed.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, knew all these problems and wrote some books and pamphlets to change the British attitude towards them. He sent the copies of these Pamphlets to British M.P's and officials in White Hall.

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1. Quoted from Russell: My diary in India, II, p.74.

At one place, referring to the prevalent belief that the Muslims were the chief investigators of that rebellion, he assured the British that the Muslims were not the Chief instigators against them. The Muslims were not only distrusted by the Ruling power, they were also disliked by the Hindus, particularly their rising middle-class . So the anti-Muslim and pro-British sentiment of the Hindus went on increasing .

Ghulam Hussain's analysis of the fundamental differences between the Hindus and Muslims is in agreement with the view- "The Hindus looked down upon the Muslims as unclean . Even for the slightest contact with them in violation of orthodox rules, a Hindu was condemned to a perpetual exclusion from his society. If a Hindu took food from a Muslim house, even unknowingly, or a Hindu woman was touched by a Muslim, the entire family was driven out of the Hindu fold and forced to take up the Muslim Faith".<sup>1</sup> When the Muslims were being suppressed by the British, the Hindus were taking full advantage of this situation. They had achieved remarkable progress, acquired riches through landownership and

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1. Quoted by R.C. Majumdar : p. 9.

commerce, and monopolised the services. By their unreserved devotion to western education, they had won the favour of the rulers. On the other hand, the Muslims kept aloof, nursing their grievances and were left behind. The Muslims had opposed English education from the very beginning and, it proved the main hurdle in their progress.

"The avoidance of English education by the Muslims, their keeping away from trade and industry and their adherence to feudal ways were responsible for the absence of a Muslim middle class. The Muslim remained backward in education and political influence as well as in the economic field".<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, the Muslims were socially, politically and economically, in a deplorable condition. Sir Syed felt so distressed that on the 26th of May 1875, addressing the elite of the Muslim population at Azimabad, said :

"Now you take a glance at the whole of India and bring before your eyes its various organisations. Look at the Govt. departments: look at the factories or Railway: Look at small

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1. S.K. Majumdar : Jinnah and Gandhi, p.16.

shops or big trading concerns:  
 look at any kind of private enter-  
 prise and just find out for yourselves  
 how many of the employed are Mussalmans.  
 I dare say the proportion would not be  
 more than one to a thousand".<sup>1</sup>

The worst cause of Muslim backwardness was the British Policy of 'Divide and Rule'. According to a British Officer: 'Divide it impera' should be the motto of our Indian administration whether Political Civil or Military.<sup>2</sup>

The policy of 'Divide and Rule' worked sometimes in favour of Hindus, and sometimes in favour of the Muslims, Partition of Bengal in 1905 was the result of this policy Lord Curzon wrote on 10th April 1904; "Bengal United is a power, Bengal divided will pull in several different ways. That is what Congress leaders feel. Their apprehensions, are perfectly correct and this forms one of the greatest merits of the Scheme". Again he said "one of our main objects is to split

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1. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria, From Sir Syed : Lecturer-ka-majmua (Urdu text) p.86.

2. Ibid.

up and thereby take a solid body of opponents to our side.<sup>1</sup>

The Bengali Hindus resisted the partition of Bengal and condemned the British Government. They felt that it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the British Government to drive a wedge at the growing solidarity of the Bengali speaking people and to create differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. Leaders like Surendra Nath Banarjee, Babu Ananth Bandhu Guha, Balgangadhar Tilak, passed many resolutions against it. Consequently, riots broke out in Eastern Bengal. Many people were killed, temples were desecrated, images broken, shops plundered, and many Hindu widows carried off. In spite of communal riots the Muslims supported the British Govt. Tilak extended his anti-partition agitation adopting the twin weapons of 'boycott and swadeshi. However, the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 by the British Govt. Thus the Hindus and the Congress were against the partition of Bengal. On the other hand, the Muslims and the Muslim League, supported

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1. Quoted by Tarachand : in History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, p. 1313.



it and were opposed to the anti-partition agitation. Thus on this issue the Hindus and the Muslims were ranged against each other and so were the Congress and the Muslim League. Though the partition was annulled in 1911, but it created a permanent rift between the Hindus and Muslims that could never be bridged.

Some Hindu leaders like Swami Dayanand, Swami Shraddhanand, Balgangadhar Tilak, Pt. Lekh Ram, Keshab Chandra Sen, Babu Kanhyalal, and Babu Naim Chandra Roy led the Hindu movements and Hindu festivals, and aroused the Hindu feelings. These movements were against history and an atmosphere of bitterness arose between the two communities. Movements like Aryasamaj, cow-protection, Shuddhi, Sangathan, Hindi -Urdu controversy, Shivaji and Ganpati festivals were responsible for this bitterness. The Aryasamaj was founded by Swami Dayanand on 10th April in 1875 in Bombay. "Back to the vedas" was the key-note of all his religious and social propaganda. He devoted his mission to re-civilize India along lines that would

combine the good of both East and West, under the inspiration and guidance of the Vedic Dharma.

Aryasamaj was infact, a Hindu protestant and Revivalist Movement. Swami Dayanand had a two fold object in view. On the one side, he desired to purify Hindu society and to purge it of the gross superstition , and on the other, to ~~to~~ prevent Hindus from drifting towards other faiths and towards the materialism which English education had brought in its train. It was fact that Islam and christianity, were both proselytising religions, it was thought necessary to give the same character to Hinduism. The spread of the Aryasamaj inspired a variety of orthodox reactions which culminated in the formation of All India Orthodox Defence Association in 1902, the Bharat Dharma Mandal Caste Sabha. Though Swami Dayanand Movement was a purely religious and reform movement and was not directed against any community or religion but his followers attacked the Muslims with increasing intensity. The Leader of the crusade, Pt. Lekhram, condemned all forms of Islam, particularly the naturalist Mohammadi's and Syed Ahmad Khan's Aligarh Movement and demanded that the Muslims should either be expelled from India or converted to Aryanism.<sup>1</sup> Such antagonism towards the Muslims

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1. See :Separatism among Indian Muslims by Frances Robinson, Vikase Publishing Delhi , 1975.

and Islam resulted, almost inevitably, from the growth of a new sense of Hindu identity . Another Programme of the Aryasamaj which led to serious trouble was the protection of the cow. The Hindus and Sikhs wanted to stop it, while the Muslims regarded cow sacrifice as their religious right. Swami Dayanand formed the Gau-Rakshini Sabha or cow-protection association and published Gokarunanidhi a book which aimed to arouse the Hindus against the beef-eating christians and Muslims. "Once the movement reached its climax in 1893 . . . vicious rioting broke out in these areas in which Muslim Villagers were massacred by lawless bands of Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand the Hindus asked the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice on the plea that it hurt their feelings, the Muslims on the other hand pressed the Hindus to abstain from performing their religious ceremonies which were opposed to the teachings of Islam. These arguments only brought the Hindus and Muslims closer to clash . Conflicts between the two communities continued to occur and hampered the peaceful march of

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1. Francis Revinsons: Separatism among Indian Muslims, pp. 77-78.

the country.

The Muslims objected to the playing of Musical before mosques on the ground that it disturbed the devotees in their prayers. The Hindus regarded music and songs as things of amusement. Such type of conflict resulted into several communal riots. In Oct. 1916 two serious Hindu-Muslim disturbances occurred in the Patna District on the occasion of Idul-Idha. Through cow-protection movements the Muslims were blamed for riots and a large number of Muslims were killed by the Hindus as well as the British.

Ganapati, and Shivaji festivals were led by a great Congress leader, Balgangadhar Tilak in Maharashtra in 1893 and 1896. Balgangadhar Tilak started these festivals to organise the Hindus. And forbade the Hindus not to join the Muslim festivals like Moharram. Hindu rubbed shoulders with Muslims in the Moharram Procession in which Tabuts, or decorative structures representing the tombs of the martyrs at Kerbala, were carried for immersion in the river, But in 1893

a communal riot broke out there. It was a bitter communal rioting in which many lives were lost and many more sustained serious injuries. The riots had come and gone, but left the bitterness between the two communities. Now Hindus stopped taking interest in the Tabut procession. Through these festivals Tilak wanted to unite the Hindu Society alone, and to give a new energy to the Hindu community. Seeing the unity of Hindu Community through these movements, the Muslims began to keep aloof from the Hindus, because now the politics did not remain purely politics but it was mixed with religion. It was only Tilak who mixed the religion in politics.

Another issue that came to surface after  
vs  
cow-protection was Urdu/ Davanagri controversy. In the development of Urdu, Hindus and Muslims had worked shoulder to shoulder in the past. There had been many a great Hindu authors in Urdu. But this controversy took a new turn as if Urdu was an exclusive patrimony of the Muslims and Hindi that of the Hindus and it was carried on with great bitterness. Behind all this bitter

controversy was the hand of Sir Anthony Macdonnell. His government passed an order authorizing the use of Nagri for certain specific purposes in courts and public offices. The Hindus welcomed it while the Muslims regarded the Hindi as dirty and they thought it most degrading to learn it. Due to Urdu-Nagri controversy, the Muslims began to suspect the Hindus and began to keep aloof from them.

was formed

The Hindu-Mahasabha/as an attempt to bring together all the Hindus in a single all India organization. The Hindu Mahasabha which had been lying dormant for a number of years started making efforts to fortify its position in the country to check the demands of the league. Its main objects were "the maintenance, protection and promotion of Hindu race, Hindu culture, and Hindu Civilization, for the advancement of Hindu Rashtra." The origin and development of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1900 to 1916 intensified the fear in the Muslim mind for their future.

The Shuddhi movement, was led by Aryasamajists. Its main object was to take back those Hindus who had

been converted to other religions. Swami shraddhanand was one of the prominent leaders who led this movement. He said ",

"The Hindu Sabha has resolved that those non-Hindus, who have faith in Hindu Samskars and Hindu Dharma should be taken within the fold of Hindu Dharma"

Such type of atmosphere gave birth to bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Shuddhi and Sangathan movement of the Hindus was answered by the Tanzim and Tabligh movement of the Muslims, each aimed at the consolidation of their communities and increasing its numbers by conversion or Shuddhi. The Muslims feared that if the movement succeed in re-converting all the Hindus from Islam back to Hinduism their position would become precarious and their numbers would be further reduced. So they started Tanzim and Tabligh movement which aimed at increasing conversion, preventing depletion of their numbers by re-conversion and, consolidating the Mussalmans as against the Hindus

by creating a new zeal for Islam.

The result of the Shuddhi and the Tanzim movements was the organisation of both the communities into rival religious camps.

On the other hand Sir Syed Ahmad's Aligarh Movement, had already organised the Muslim masses and forbade them not to join the congress because it could not safeguard their rights and safety of religion. He was against the rule of majority in Democracy. Later on, The Muslim League was formed in 1906. Its aim was also to protect the rights and safety of Muslim community. Many Hindu leaders condemned the Muslims for this formation.

Among the Muslims, the Pan-Islamism or Khilafat was a religious issue. Its main aim was to unite the Muslims under one Caliph. An Ottoman Political hegemony was essential to be the basis for reunion of the scattered divisions of Muslims under one religious head and, for resisting further encroachment on Muslim territories by European powers and, also for helping to weaken the European rulers in Asia and Africa. This ideal finds expression in Arabic by a phrase. Ittihad al-Islam meaning 'Islamic union or Pan-Islamism.



The modern Pan-Islamism originated during the 19th century as a revolt against Western imperialism. The leader of this revolt was Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, who single handedly ignited in many Muslims bands, a burning awareness that western imperialism could be uprooted only by the United efforts of the Muslims in every part of the world.

The European powers had started intriguing against the Ottomans from the second half of the 19th century. In the first decade of the 20th century the vast Ottoman Empire was made the target by the European powers. They had directed their policies only towards one object-the extinction of the "Sickman from Europe "ie Turkish Caliph". In 1911, Tripoli, an Ottoman dominion became a victim of European aggression. Italy declared war on it and occupied it. The Italian attack on Tripoli brought misery in its train for the Arabs, whose food supplies had been interrupted. The inhuman treatment meted out to the Arabs was unprecedented, Ameer Ali in a letter to The Times pointed out that "the indiscriminate slaughter.... the massacre of captives, the killing of women who had not uncovered their faces at the bidding of rude soldiers".

Outwordly the British role in this war that of neutrality while secretly it was engaged in this war. It supplied arms and other materials to the Arabs against the Ottomans and tried its best to make them rise in revolt against Ottomans.

Turkey had a special place in the hearts of Indian Muslims and the loyalty of Muslims changed into active opposition to the British. Haji Musa Khan, Maulana Mohd. Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan advocated Pan-Islamic Khilafat through their papers and speeches. Mohd. Ali delivered a soul stirring speech to an impatient gathering in the Jama Masjid, Delhi and characterised the Balkan war as the last fight of the Turks. To him the defeat of Turkey was the defeat of Islam. They started Khilafat movement to restore the Caliphate defeated in world war I.

At such a time Mahatma Gandhi came to India. He had gained rich and fruit-ful political experience during his stay in South Africa for about two decades. The problems in India were, however Quite different. The

great task he planned and envisaged was the attainment of Swaraj for India. The Khilafat movement afforded Gandhi an opportunity to mobilize the people against the Raj by launching a mass movement along with Ali Brothers. The Muslims elected Gandhi as their sole leader in this cause. Gandhi had realization that his task for the achievement of Swaraj would remain unfulfilled unless he won the hearts of the Muslims. So Gandhiji led Khilafat Movement and became its Chief leader. He addressed a meeting of Muslims in Bombay on Sep. 18, 1919 declaring that Khilafat was the question of questions. He asked the Muslims to be ready to sacrifice their ease, comfort, commerce and even their life for the cause. He appealed to every Hindu<sup>men</sup> and women to observe Oct. 17 as Khilafat day, a day of national fasting and prayer and proposed suspension of business. For this purpose he launched non-cooperation movement. In this movement, the Hindu and Muslim leaders surrendered their titles, Gandhiji himself surrendered his titles to the Govt. Many great Muslim leaders left their courts. Students left their colleges and participated in this programme. The main aim of Gandhi to launch the "non-cooperation" was to strengthen the Khilafat Movement. But he called off the movement

when it reached its height, due to Chauri-Chaura incident on Feb. 5, 1922 in which, 21 constables and a sub-inspector were killed. Both the Muslim and the Hindu leaders angrily protested against the decision of Gandhiji. The suspension of non-cooperation Movement by Gandhiji was a great mistake of his life. He had not consulted Muslim leaders to withdraw the Non-cooperation, who elected Gandhi as the sole leader of this programme. Jinnah had already left congress and Gandhi, because he did not like the Khilafat Movement in India and even more so to choose Gandhi as sole leader of this movement. Jinnah said "

"I am afraid, I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster... your methods have already caused splits and divisions in almost every institution that you have approached".

Gandhiji could not understand the religious mind of Muslims. They were agitating for the restoration of Khilafat institution. Hindus, on the other hand supported the Khilafat just to bring the Muslim masses in a struggle against British rule in India. But when the Khilafat Movement ended in failure, Muslims starte

drifting away from the National Movement.

Gandhiji tried his best to unite both the communities. He closely studied the problems, sentiments and aspirations of the Muslims and tried to win their confidence and affection. He regarded mutual love and harmony between Hindus and Muslims in India a necessary condition for their being able to lead a healthy religious life. But there were <sup>those</sup> who committed murder and arson, looted houses and shops and even desecrated places of worship in the name of religion. He thought that if this state of affairs continued it would kill the true spirit of religion which would mean the death of India. He wanted to bring unity without killing or injuring the opponent.

For this unity he suggested that there should be peace Brigades, which would solve the problems of communal riots under the oath of Truth and Ahimsa. There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the peace Brigade, so that in course of time, they would be recognised without the slightest difficulty. He explained the duty of newspapermen: They should avoid publishing anything beyond bare facts, specially anything that excited inter-communal hatred.

Gandhiji rejected the ready recipes for Hindu-Muslim unity offered by superficial minds who believed that outward proximity could bring about real unity between individual members of two communities and advocated inter-dining and intermarriage between them. He would, however, welcome inter-marriage in those cases where it is not motivated by physical lust but by true friendship, provided each party retains his or her religious faith and at the same time respect the faith of the other. He was a true believer in his religion. He was not in favour of conversion. He emphasised that all religions being equally true, change over from one religion to another had no meaning. On the question of Hindi-Urdu, he advised the people to learn both the languages.

"If Hindus and Muslims or rather people of all religions in India, they must accept a common language evolved from Hindi and Urdu. They should learn the two scripts".<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi : Harijan p. 350.

He was a Sanatani Hindu, Cow-protection was important for him. He said " For me, the cow is the personification of innocence. Cow-protection means the protection of weak and the helpless".

According to Gandhiji cow-protection could be achieved by the cooperation of both the communities. The Hindus blamed the Muslims. It was British Raj which was responsible for the cow-slaughter. He says :

"Three-Fourth of the responsibility for cow -slaughter in India lies with the Hindus, and the Muslims are guilty to only one fourth"<sup>be</sup> He held that cow-protection can be secured only with the voluntary cooperation and help of the Muslims . So he advised Hindus not to antagonise Muslims for the sake of cow-protection. On the other hand he advised the Hindus that they should stop music before mosques to spare the feelings of the Mussalmans, and told the Muslims that they should not fight with Hindus on the question of music. They should not compel the Hindus to stop music or arti at the point of the sword; they must trust the good sense of the Hindus. He appealed to Hindus that they should always respect the law, and should not take the law in their own hands.

The most important aspect of the Hindu-Muslim problem was the political issue. The Muslims demanded separate electorate and reservation of seats in Legislatures. But Gandhiji did not favour it. In his opinion "separate electorate have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust".<sup>1</sup> Gandhi was aware of the fact that separate electorates for the Muslims are a mechanism for ensuring a share in political power. So Gandhiji gave its solution by joint electorates in place of separate electorates which would bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. But such a proposal was not accepted by the Muslims. He failed to realise that whatever he preached only his small band of devoted followers could practice. Its application on a large and general scale was bound to fail.

The relations between the Hindus and Muslims since 1924 worsened due to mutual differences. It widened

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1. Gandhi, M.K. Communal Unity, p.39.



the gulf when Nehru Report was published on 15th August 1928. The Report rejected the Muslim demand for reservation of seats in Bengal and the Punjab. Its verdict was that reservation of seats for majorities was incompatible with real representative and responsible government. The weightage fixed for Muslims under the Lucknow pact and the Montagu-Chelms Ford Reforms was withdrawn by the Report. Separate electorates were also abolished. The principle of weightage had no place: ..

The Hindu leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai, and the Aryasamajists accepted the Nehru Report. The Muslims opposed it bitterly. They began to feel that they had been cheated of their legitimate rights. Jinnah refused to accept it. Gandhiji convassed it. Mohd Ali deplored Gandhi's fervent convassing of the Report. He said

"Gandhi has defeated all Muslims: The behaviour of Gandhi on the Nehru Report made anti effect on the Muslims. This gulf separated Gandhiji from Muslims further.

Thus Gandhiji tried to unite both the communities emotionally . He could not solve the Muslim problem: Politically and economically, and continued hammering religious issues and preaching unity of hearts and tolerance.

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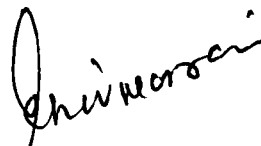
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CHAPTER-I

HINDU MUSLIM PROBLEM CREATED BY BRITISH RAJ

Pan-Islamism and Hindu-Muslim problem or conflict between the two communities is the result of certain Muslim problems. Some of these problems were created deliberately by the British rulers to suppress the Muslim community from which they had snatched power. Some of these problems were created, perhaps unconsciously by certain extremist religious and political leaders by launching certain movements against them or advocating policies detrimental to the Muslim interest in India. In this chapter we have tried to make a short survey of the origin of these problems which gave rise to Hindu-Muslim problems.

The sun of Islam set with the death of Aurangzeb and gradually his successors fell into the position of merely nominal rulers and the last representative of Muslim supremacy in India found an unhonoured grave in a penal settlement in Rangoon.

Before the battle of Plassey the Muslim upper class, being the ruling group, had almost monopolised the government services in both military and civil departments. In the process of Governmental reorganisation at first the Muslim troops were disbanded, which

affected not only a significant number of Muslim officers but also tens of thousands of ordinary soldiers. Secondly, Hastings' policy of Anglicisation of revenue administration, threw many Muslim officers out of their jobs. Thirdly, the land revenue policy of the Government from A.D. 1772 onwards and the proceedings of the resumption of sent free tenures (from A.D. 1778 to 1850) ruined the Muslim landed gentry. Fourthly, the abolition of the rural policy in A.D. 1793, deprived thousands of Muslim policemen from their hereditary mode of employment. As Moin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan writes :-

"In the process of the establishment of British rule, the Muslim upper classes with their dependents, were not only eliminated from public services but also largely deprived of the sources of their livelihood".<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims lost political power, but with it they lost much of their zest for living. Farquhar is not far wrong when he says: "The whole community sank with the empire."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Moin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan: Muslim struggle for freedom in Bengal. Islamic, pp. 7-8, Foundation Bangladesh, 1983.
  2. Quoted by Rafique Zakaria in his 'Rise of Muslims, in Indian Politics, Somaiya Publication, Bombay, from Farquhar: Modern religious movements in India, p.91.

How soon this degeneration had overwhelmed the Muslims is seen in an elegy, composed in Persian, by Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor himself, immediately after he was deprived of his eyesight in 1788. Some of its verses run :

"Time was, O King! When clothed in power supreme,  
Thy voice was heard, and nations hailed the  
theme ; Now sad reverse for sordid lust of gold,  
by traitorous wiles- thy throne and Empire sold .  
But stay! My soul, unworthy rage disown: Learn to  
sustain the loss of sight and throne. Learn that  
imperial pride, and star-clad power. Are but the  
feeling pageants of an hour.<sup>1</sup>

This mood prevailed among the Muslims for about a hundred years after the fall of the Mughals and they continued, during all that period, to suffer the pangs of subjugation, of course occasionally, here and there, they revolted against the British for having usurped their place in India, but that situation became worse. Mostly they sighed, as Sleeman explained for "the restoration of the old Muhammadan regime, not from any particular attachment to the descendants of Timur but because it would

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1. See. Ibid, p.2. The poem has been translated by Captain Captain W.Franklin and published an appendix to his History of the Reign of Shah Aulum.

give them all the Offices in a country where office is everything".<sup>1</sup>

Sleeman found this feeling so prevalent among the Muslims during his tour of India in 1835-36 that it was difficult for him to convince those with whom he came in contact of the change in status that had come about as a result of the British supremacy. Sleeman describes this trait in them as a very common and very innocent sort of vanity", "we often find Englishmen in India, he explains, "and I suppose in all the rest of our foreign settlements, sporting high Tory opinions and feelings, merely with a view to have it supposed that their families are or at some time were, among the aristocracy of the land".<sup>2</sup>

It is now a well-established fact that from the beginning of their supremacy in India, the British did not trust the Muslims. In their natural frustration, the new rulers saw, sometimes rightly but often without justification, signs of plots to overthrow the East India Company's authority in India. Many of its foremost administrators regarded the Muslims as dangerous to British imperial possessions, while some of them had even developed a repulsion

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1. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria : op. cit.

From Sleeman, Rambles and recollections II, pp. 182-83.

2. ibid p.3.



towards them. "These Mussalmans", wrote Robert Clive in a letter to Lawrence Sullivan on December 30, 1758, "gratitude they have none, basemen of every narrow conceptions.. (they ) have adopted a system of politics more peculiar to this country than any other: viz. to attempt anything by treachery rather than force".<sup>1</sup>

In the same way the behaviour of Lord Ellenborough was not favourable to the Muslims. When Lord Ellenborough became Governor General in 1842, he not only had a soft corner for the Hindus; he made no secret of his contempt for the Muslims. For instance, while restoring the gates of the Temple of Somnath, which was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazna, he proclaimed to the Hindu princes and chiefs that "the insult of eight hundred years is atlast avenged".<sup>2</sup>

Ellenborough also wanted the Mughal Emperor and his family to quit the imperial palace and resign all titles and privileges, which could be offered to the queen who would then be called "Padshah Ghazi". He believed that the best way of restoring "equilibrium between the two religions" was to bring the Muhammedans to their senses."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Forest : Life of Clive, II, p. 120.

2. Quoted by Thompson and Garratt in 'Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India, p. 353.

3. Law, Sir Alganon (ed.) India under Lord Ellenborough, p.65.

Nor was Lord Dalhousie, who played such a decisive role in the annals of British administration in India, any better disposed towards the Muslims. In a private letter to one of his friends on August 18, 1853, he revealed his mind in a significant passage:

"The king of Oudh seems to be bumptious, I wish he would be. To swallow him before, I go would give me satisfaction. The old king of Delhi is dying. If it had not been for the effete folly of the court (of Directors) I would have ended with him the dynasty of Timour".<sup>1</sup>

The war of 1857 was perhaps the main result of the Muslim suppression. Though it was a revolt both the communities against the British Raj, but it was imposed on the Muslims only due to divide and rule policy of the British.

Birjis Qadr who was raised to the throne of Oudh by the rebels on 5th July, 1857, under the Regency of his mother Hazarat Mahal published a proclamation in

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1. Law, Sir Alganon (ed.) India under Lord Ellenbouragh p. 66.

justification of the revolt against the British. It runs thus :

· "All Hindus and Mussalmans know that four things are held dear by every human beings: (1) religion and faith, (2) honour and esteem, (3) Life of self and relations; (4) property. These four were protected under the rule of the Indians, under whose Government no one interfered with religion; every one followed his own faith and every one's honour was protected in accordance with his own concern. But the English are the enemies of these four things. They want that the Hindus and Mussalmans should lose their religion.....wherever they go they hang men of high classes, and kill their wives and children. Their soldiers dishonour women. They dig up their houses, seize their property and leave nothing".<sup>1</sup>

In the period of mutiny there was a remarkable unity between the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus were loyal to the Mughal crown. They had developed friendly

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1. Quoted in 'History of the Freedom movement in India by Tara Chand, p. 46.

relations on a permanent basis as a result of the common life of centuries. Before the days of British rule, there was no such thing as the Hindu-Muslim problem in India. - As Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote in a foreward for the book 'Eighty fifty seven' by Surendra Nath Sen: "common life had developed among Hindus and Muslims a sense of brotherhood and sympathy which was able to resist the indoctrination of hundred years. That is why the struggle of 1857 took a national and racial but not communal turn. In the fight for freedom, Hindus and Muslims stood shoulder to shoulder. Their common effort was to liberate themselves from the British yoke".<sup>1</sup> This feeling of unity was found not only in the army but also among the civil population. There is no record of a single incident of conflict or clash on a religious basis even though there are instances where British officers tried to weaken the Indian camp by stressing such differences.

The Hindu-Muslim unity during the mutiny time is also accepted by the English writers. Just in McCarthy wrote :

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1. Foreworded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in 'Eighty-Fifty Seven' by Surendra Nath Sen, p. XVIII.

"The fact was that throughout the greater part of the north and north-west of the great Indian Peninsula there was a rebellion of the native races against English power. It was not by any means a merely military mutiny. It was a combination of military grievances, national hatred and religious fanaticism against the English occupation of India. The native princess and the native soldiers were in it. The Mohammedan and the Hindoo forgot their old religious antipathies to join against the Christians".<sup>1</sup>

According to Tarachand : "The uprising of 1857 was a general movement of the traditional elite of the Muslim and the Hindu princes, landholders, soldiers, scholars and theologians (Pandits and Maulavis). The Emperor of Delhi, the King of Oudh, Some Nawabs and Rajas, Talukadars and Zamindars, the soldiers-Pathans, Mughals, Rajputs and Brahmans of northern India- and the Maulavis who were members of this order, comprised the main body of the rebels".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted in History of the Freedom Movement by Tara Chand, p.41, Bom. McCarthy, Justin 'A short history of our own times (London 1882), p. 170.

2. Tarachand: History of the Freedom movement in India, p.43.

He again says :

"They had common traditions and common grievances. They sympathised with one another in their misfortunes. The loss of territory and political power by the Chiefs affected them all. If the higher section was deprived of the titles of authority- their estates, army commands and civil offices- the others had lost avenues of employment and positions of influence and profit. The learned, scholars, theologians and poets and craftsmen and artists were left without patronage. Many of these whose hereditary occupation was fighting were rendered jobless, and many were obliged to drift into the army of the East India Company."<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims who became in special target of British hatred after the revolt, naturally suffered most from its consequences. Their leading families in the areas where the revolt had raged most fiercely were uprooted, many lost their lands and property and their bread-winners became paupers. The young men faced a bleak future as the doors of Govt. patronage were shut upon them. Darkness enveloped the community and a destiny wedding nothing but ill threatened them.

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1. Tarachand, op.cit. , pp. 43-44.

The last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, singing pathetically of the misfortunes of the country after the fall of Delhi, made a particular mention of the fact that the Mussalmans were the special object of the wrath of the British rulers. This was the situation ;

"An awful change has come upon the air. And  
I know not one single moment's peace. How  
may I tell my misery in words;

My heart is torn in two with agony;  
The people of this land are all destroyed,  
What utmost sufferings have they not known ;  
Whomever the masters of the day behold  
They say, "fit for the gallows is he too;  
When was such tyranny heard of by men  
That lakhs are hanged, and for no crime at all?  
Still are their hearts charged with dark hate  
against those who pronounce the Kalima in  
prayer".<sup>1</sup>

When Delhi was recaptured in September 1857 by the British, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775-1862) was arrested and tried by a military court. He was convicted for treason, conspiracy, rebellion and murder and ultimately exiled to Rangoon with his favourite Begum Zinat Mahal.

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1. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria: op.cit. p.3.

His two sons and one grandson were shot dead. He also died in Rangoon after 4 years on November 7, 1862. Since then the Muslims were tortured badly by the British.

Sir Henry Cotton was told by a military officer that one day his Sikh soldier requested him to come and see the mutineers who were captured by them. He went and found "these wretched Mohammedans at their last gasp, tied to the ground stripped of their clothing and deeply branded over every part of their bodies from head to foot with red-hot coppers."<sup>1</sup>

The same situation, Russell observes :

"All these kinds of vindictive, un-Christian, Indian torture, such as sewing Mohammedans in pigskins, smearing them with pork-fat. It was a fact that Muslims' share in the mutiny itself was no greater than that of others, but their display of sentiments might have been more open, especially as the Mughal Emperor was made the Symbol of all defiance during those critical days. According to Major G.F. MacMunn "the Mutineers, largely Hindu soldiers from Oudh, proclaimed the re-incarnation of the Mughal Emperor, compelling the aged Bahadur Shah, son of blind Shah Alam, to pose an emperor of India."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by R.C. Majumdar: *The Sepoy*, p.113  
*Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*. Calcutta 1952.  
 See also Henry Cotton: *Indian and Home Memories*, p.143.
  2. See: MacMunn's : *The Armies of India*, p. 97.



Nevertheless the Muslims had to suffer more because the British suspected them the most. As Sir George Campbell admitted in a letter to The Times, London, "the most obvious, popular and pressing theory is that the Muhammadans have rebelled".<sup>1</sup>

Russell wrote : "our antagonism to the followers of Muhammad is far stronger than that between us and the worshipers of Shiva and Vishnu. They are unquestionably more dangerous to our rule ..... If we could eradicate the traditions and destroy the temples of Muhammad by one vigorous effort it would indeed be well for the Christian faith and for the British rule".<sup>2</sup>

This hatred of the Muslims among British officials especially was so intense that, according to Russell, it was warmly urged by some of them that the Jama Masjid at Delhi should be destroyed as a reminder to the "faithful" of their humiliated position in India. One Governor-General-Russell called him "enlightened" (supposed to be Lord William Bentick)

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1. Campbell : Memories of my Indian career, II, p.391.
  2. Quoted from Russell : My diary in India, II. p.74, op.cit. p.7.

had even proposed that "we should pull down the Taj at Agra and sell the blocks of marble".<sup>1</sup>

Lord Robert's attitude was typical of the British. He felt so furious with the Muslims that in one of his letters to his sister, Harriet, he wrote that the British should "work with their life's best blood.....and show these rascally Musalmans that with God's help English men will still be the master of India".<sup>2</sup>

Thereafter, it became almost a habit with British officials to put the blame for every thing that wrong on the Muslims. They were not happy to see them in administrative jobs and often treated them with contempt and ridicule. Towards the Hindus, on the contrary, their attitude was generous and they employed them willingly in junior administrative posts, where they co-operated with their superiors whole-heartedly and even gave them complete submission.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Russell, op. cit. II. p.73.

2. See: Roberts : Letters written during the Indian Mutiny. p.119.

3. See: The Bombay Gazette. February 16, 1874.

About the Muslim situation a writer says: "The mutiny as a matter of fact, divided the Muslims and the British to such an extent that for some time people hardly dared talk openly of bringing the two together."<sup>1</sup>

The army and the Muslims were regarded by the British as the Chief instigators of the revolt. They therefore received special attention. The Peel Commission (1858) recommended the reduction of the native army, and nearly 200,000 men, including some from the military police, were disbanded. Another 'Army Commission' which was appointed 21 years later drew two lessons from the revolt: first, of retaining in the country an "irresistible force of British troops", and secondly "of keeping the artillery in the hands of Europeans".<sup>2</sup>

The Muslims, too, felt the wrath of the British. They were accused by the latter of taking a leading part in the rebellion, "to teach these rescally Mussalman a lesson", the Nawab of Jhajjar, Ballabgarh, Furrukhnagar

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1. The Muslim situation in India. Ed. by Iqbal A. Ansari, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1989.

2. See: Rebellion 1857: A symposium, pp. 55-56. Ed. by P.C. Joshi, People's Publishing House, New Delhi 1957.

and twenty -four Shahazadas were hanged".<sup>1</sup>

Muslims property was either confiscated or destroyed. While Muslims were made to pay 35% of their immovable property as punitive fine, Hindus were let off with only 10 per cent. After Delhi was reconquered the Hindus were allowed to return within a few months, but the Muslims could not before 1859-C.F. Andrew observes in his Zakaulah of Delhi that 'decay immediately overtook the revival of learning in Delhi, from which it never recovered'.<sup>2</sup>

The Muslims continued their struggle against the British-if not openly, then in daily antipathies. These took the form, collectively of antagonism to British culture and civilization, philosophy and education every thing British. Thus in the post-rebellion period "While..... Hindus.....inspired by the arts and sciences of Europe, were experiencing an intellectual and moral renaissance", wrote Sir Theodore Morrison, "the Muslims all over India were falling into a state of material indigence and intellectual decay."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Quoted from : Indian Mutiny N.W. p. Vol.I by Sir William Muir, p. 273.

2. See: Rebellion 1857. A Symposium. Ed. by I.P.C. Joshi p.56.

3. See: Ed. by P.C. Joshi : Op. cit. pp. 56-57.

In several places Muslim population was massacred and the Wahabi leaders were hunted out throughout northern India for summary execution. Hundreds of them, including several distinguished Ulema, were blown by the cannon, while others were deported to the penal settlement of the Andamans. In fact, among the first batch of prisoners to arrive in the Andamans were such well-known Wahabi leaders of the revolt as Mufti Mazhar Karim of Delhi and Munshi Inayat Ahmad of Lucknow, followed by the victims of Ambala (1865) and Patna (1869) Wahabi trials.<sup>1</sup>

On the condition of Mussalmans, Sir W.W. Hunter wrote in 1868 as follows:

"After the mutiny the British turned upon the Mussalmans as their real enemies, so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them than to the Hindus. They lost altogether all their remaining prestige generation before it like a craft

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1. See : Rebellion 1857. A Symposium p.93 Ed. by P.C.Joshi.

which has snapped its moorings. Westernism became the fashion of the day, and westernism demanded of its votaries that they should cry down the civilization of their own country. The more ardent their admiration for every thing western, the more vehement became their denunciation of everything eastern. The ancient learning was despised, ancient customs and traditions were thrust aside, ancient religion was decried as an outworn superstition. The ancient foundations upon which the complex structure of Hindu society had been built were undermined and in the new generation of iconoclasts found little enough with which to underpin the edifice which they were so recklessly depriving of its own foundations."<sup>1</sup>

Before the mutiny of 1857, the Muslims had revolted against the British Government under the Wahabi leaders. It is true that the Wahabi movement<sup>2</sup> in India was primarily a religious movement, but it was also a proletarian and revolutionary movement. The Wahabi leaders

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1. W.W. Hunter : Indian Mussalmans p.17.

2. The Wahabi movement was started in Arabia towards the end of the 18th century. At the beginning it was purely religious. It was brought to India by Syed Ahmed Brelvi. It acquired a popular and revolutionary character in India. It taught hatred against the foreign rulers. The Muslims who played an important part in the mutiny were Wahabis.

stirred the Muslims of India and a wave of enthusiasm swept over the whole country. The movement was ruthlessly suppressed by the British Government but it manifested itself in the form of the mutiny. As the British considered the Muslims to be responsible for the mutiny, they were treated very severely after 1858.<sup>1</sup>

So the war (mutiny) proved them (Muslims) dark aspect of their progress. The proportion of the Muslim race which a century ago had the monopoly of Govt. has now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administrative body. Their position was very critical in each field of progress viz. educationally, socially, economically and politically.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was so much moved by this hostility on the part of the British officials towards his "brethren-in-Islam" that he published in 1860 a pamphlet to try and change the British attitude towards them. He wrote it in Urdu and got it translated into

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1. See: British Rule in India and after. p. 246 by Vidyadhar Mahajan, New Delhi 1980.

English, sending copies of it not only to British Administrators in India but also to M.Ps and officials in White Hall. He entitled it 'The Loyal Muhammadans of India'. The title explains the subject of the pamphlet, which contained copious accounts of Muslim loyalty during the revolt of 1857. At one place, referring to the prevalent belief that the Muslims were the chief instigators of that rebellion, he said, "some of the acts of that horrible drama have already been exposed, but as day by day all the particulars are gradually brought to light, then when the naked truth stands revealed, will this glorious fact stand out in prominent relief to the world that if in India there was one class of people above every other who, from the principles of their religion, from habits and associations, and from kindred disposition, were bound with christians, in their dread hour of trial and danger, in the bonds of amity and friendship, then those people were the Muslims and the alone! And then will be effectually silenced to tongue of slander now so loud in the condemnation of the Muslims".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: The Loyal, Muhammadans of India, Part.I. p.3.



Against such a bleak background the Muslims began their struggle for survival under the British. They were not only distrusted by the ruling power ; they were also disliked by the Hindus, particularly their rising middle-class. On the other hand, the Hindus were the most popular among the each field of the progress. So the anti-Muslim and Pro-British sentiment of the Hindus went on increasing. This is evident from the statement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He was a great scholar in Arabic, Persian and Muslim learning, and as will be shown later, regarded the Muslims as superior to the Hindus in many respects.<sup>1</sup>

Ghulam Husain's analysis of the fundamental differences between the Hindus and Muslims is in agreement with the view- "The Hindus looked down upon the Muslims as unclean, and even for the slightest contact with them, in violation of orthodox rules, a Hindu was condemned to a perpetual exclusion from his society. If a Hindu took food from a Muslim house, even unknowingly, or a Hindu woman was touched by a Muslim, the entire family was driven out of the Hindu fold and forced to take up the Muslim faith".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See: British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance Part II. Ed. by R.C. Majumdar. Bombay, 1965, p.4.

2. Quoted by R.C. Majumdar: op.cit. p.9.

Before the advent of the British in India, the Mussalmans were the rulers of the country. They had, therefore, all the advantages appertaining to the ruling class. The sovereign and the chiefs were their coreligionists, and so were the great landlords and the great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility, or carrying influence and high emoluments was by birth right theirs. The Hindus did occupy some position but the Hindu holders of position were but the tenants-at-will of the Musalmans. The Musalmans had complete access to the sovereigns and to the chiefs. They could, and did, often eat the same table with them. They could also, and often did intermarry. The Hindus stood in awe of them. Enjoyment and influence and all the good things of the world were theirs..... By a stroke of misfortune, the Musalmans had to abdicate their position and descend to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Musalmans were gradually ousted from their lands, their offices: in fact every thing was lost save their honour.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See: Quoted in British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance Part II. Ed. by R.C. Majumdar, Bombay 1965.

"The Hindus, from a subservient state, came into the lands, offices and other wordly advantages of their former masters. Their exaltation knew no bounds, and they trod upon the heels of their formers. The Musalmans would have nothing to do with any thing in which they might have to come into contact with the Hindus. They were soon reduced to a state of Utter poverty. Ignorance and apathy seized hold of them while the fall of their former greatness rankled in their hearts."<sup>1</sup>

The Hindus had jealousy upon the Musalmans and the alien Government did not show any attention towards them. The pathetic stage to which all this led the Muslims is beautifully described by Maulana Halli in his famous 'Musaddas' which Grahame Bailey has rightly called "The Greatest Urdu Poem since the time of Anis".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.pp. 296-297.

2. Quoted from : A History of Urdu Literature, by J. Grahame Bailey p.96.

"Nothing remains of that proud fold but this  
that we still give ourselves the Muslim name  
For otherwise within our veins and blood  
In our intentions and search for truth  
Our hearts and minds and thoughts and tongue  
and speech  
Our nature, habits, dispositions too.  
Remains there nought of old nobility,  
or if there be , it is by chance alone.  
For now, our every deed ignoble shows,  
Our actions are the meanest of the low,  
The fairname of our fathers is eclipsed  
Our very steps disgrace the place we dwell  
dishonoured is the honour of the past,  
Arabia's greatness sunk beyond recall."<sup>1</sup>

The state of affairs among the Muslims was indeed so corrupt and degrading at this time, at another place , with a note of deep pessimism, Hali sings:

"If you would see the limits to which Decline  
can go Regard the lot of Islam-that proud  
head fallen low And, seeing, who would credit  
that every tide must turn?  
That so complete an ebb-tide will turn again?"<sup>2</sup>

1. From the 'Musadds-e-Hali, English renderings of the above verses by Grahame Baile. Ibid. p.95. See also : Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria: op.cit. p.9.

2. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria, op.cit. p.10 from the Rubiyat-e-Hali, English renderings of the above verse by S.S. Tute in his 'The Qurtains of Hali, pp. 65-66.

This was not only the poet's feelings; but reality, a large majority of Muslims was becoming reconciled to their degraded position. They used to believe sincerely that, as with an individual, who from a child grows into a young and healthy man and then becomes old and dies, so with people. The Muslims had their days of youth and glory, they were now old and must die soon.<sup>1</sup>

In such a circumstances, when the Muslims were being suppressed by the British, the Hindus were taking the full advantages of this situation. The Muslims saw that the Hindus generally and the Bengalis especially had utilised fully the existing opportunities for their advancement. They had achieved remarkable progress, acquired riches through landownership and commerce, and monopolised the services. By their unreserved devotion to western education, they had won the favour of the rulers. On the other hand, the Muslims had kept aloof, nursing their grievances and were left behind of this disparity, W.W. Hunter wrote-

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1. See: Sir Syed's unfinished article, written just before his death and published posthumously under the heading 'Life and death of a nation'. Dec. 1898.

"Our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nations, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Mussalmans".<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims had opposed English education from the very fast. They had expressed their disapproved officially when they submitted a memorial signed by 8,000 Muslims to Lord Billiam Bentick on his signing the order of 7 March, 1835, protesting against the utilisation of the Government grant exclusively on English education. "Their chief objection to English education was that it weakened the faith of young Indian students in their religion and also opened the way for the propagation of Christianity among them".<sup>2</sup>

Christians missions were permitted in 1813 to work and to open educational institutions in India. But

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1. Quoted by Tarachand: History of Freedom Movement in India. Vol.II. Publication Division, Govt. of India, 1982. p. 351.  
See also : W.W.Hunder "Indian Mussalmans" Londong, 1876.p.77.
  2. Quoted by Tarachand: Op.cit. p.351.

Government took no steps upto 1833 for imparting western education to the people. In 1833 Macaulay pressed the matter and made some impression, but difference and hesitation continued till 1854, when the efforts of Sir Charles Trevelyan finally settled the matter. Sir Charles Trevelyan submitted in 1854 before the Parliamentary Committee a paper on "The Political Tendencies of the Different Systems of Education in India" which finally cleared the ground. The basic arguments contained in the paper are the following:

"The existing connection between two such distant countries as England and India, cannot in the nature of things be paramount no effort of policy can prevent. The natives from ultimately regarding their independence. But, there are two ways of arriving at this point. One of them is through the medium of revolution, the other through that of reform."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the modern education in India began with Wood's dispatch 1854, which resolved all controversies of the period round the subject of education

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1. See: Roots of communal politics by N. Gerald Barrier. New Delhi. p.168.

into well defined attitudes. The dispatch stated that the educational system in India was organised for the following objects :

- (1) Spreading western culture,
- (2) Securing properly trained servants for the public administration, and
- (3) Doing their duty to the sovereign by the Indian subjects.

Regarding the controversy about the medium of instruction the dispatch reached the conclusion that-

- (1) English should be used as the medium of instruction at the collegiate stage,
- (2) Secondary education was to be imparted both through English and through modern Indian languages, and
- (3) Modern Indian languages were to be encouraged with a view to making them the media in course of time for imparting higher education.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See: Social background of Indian Nationalism by A.R.Desai, Bombay, 1954, pp. 147-48.



In this way it was Wood's Education Dispatch of 1854 which laid the foundation of the structure of the modern educational system in India. This western education was a boon for the Hindus, while it proved a curse for the Muslims. It was the main reason that the Muslims cling to their old ways of life and took no interest in western education. On the other hand the Hindus took full advantage of the facilities of educational institutions on western lines, that were in the meantime established in various parts of the country.

"The avoidance of English education by the Muslims, their keeping away from trade and industry and their adherence to feudal ways were responsible for the absence of a Moslem middle class. Consequently the Moslems remained backward in education and political influence as well as in the economic field".<sup>1</sup>

The Government of India in its resolution dated June 13, 1873, analysed the various causes of Muslim backwardness, the Governor-General-in-Council assumed that

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1. S.K. Majumdar: Jinnah and Gandhi; Calcutta, 1966, p.16.

in all provinces, where the Muslims were few, and often exposed to all the disadvantages which affected a religious minority without wealth or superior influence, it would be the special care of Government to satisfy themselves that these endeavours to encourage the education of the Muslim would be persistently maintained.

In this time the Muslims were backward specially in education. Reviewing the statistics of Hindu and Muslim students in the various provinces of India, Mayo pointed out that even in Bengal, which was a Muslim stronghold, there were only 14,000 Muslim students against 100,000 Hindus. After commenting on the "lamentable deficiency in the large mass of what was not very long ago the most powerful race in India".<sup>1</sup>

In secondary and higher education, the percentage of Muslim population in 1871-72 was 22.8 in the six larger provinces of India, while the percentage of Muslim pupils among the total number of students was only 1415.

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1. See: W.W. Hunter's: A Life of the Earl of Mayo.  
Vol.II, pp.307-8.

Also see: Annual Report on the administration of the territories under the Lt. Governor of Bengal during the year 1870-71 (Calcutta), 1872, pp. 33-34.

In the two provinces of North-Western provinces, now U.P. and Oudh, they were in excess of their ratio, but in the other four, below the average. At the end of the decade (1872-82) was 3.65 percent of the total number of students and 9.2 percent in English High and Middle Schools. Considering the fact that the population of the Muslims in India then was 22.8 percent of total, these figures show that the state of affairs was far from satisfactory.

By 1891-92, the percentage of Muslim students in the Colleges (English) was 5.9, in professional colleges 7.5, and in secondary schools 14.0, while their population remained in the vicinity of 21.8 percent. In short, so far as general literacy among Muslims was concerned, its percentage in 1886-87 was identical with the proportion of their population to the total, viz. 22.5. It was in the higher grades of education that disparity between Hindus and Muslims remained marked.

By 1903, the all-round position had somewhat receded. In a total population of 22.6 percentage, the percentage of Muslim pupils was 18.8.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See : History of the Freedom Movement in India.  
Vol. II by Tarachand, publication Division of  
India 1982, pp.445-46.

In 1845, out of a total of 17,350 scholars receiving instruction in institutions maintained at public expense in British India, no less than 13699 were Hindus, Muslims numbered 1,636, Christians 236, and 1,789 scholars belonged to other faiths. Presidency-wise, there were 8,138 students in schools and colleges in Bombay, 7,036 in the lower provinces and 2,186 in north-western provinces. In 1856-57, among the British provinces the maximum amount was being spent in Bengal as is shown in the following table.<sup>1</sup>

Provinces	Revenue	Expenditure on education	Expenditure on education as % of total revenue £
Bengal	11202641	94322	.841
Madras	1718036	34222	.725
Bombay	4600478	35243	.766
N. W. P.	2724141	33060	1.213
Punjab	1057987	14487	1.369

1. See: Tarachand. Op.cit. p.209.

The expenditure on education (in absolute figures) in Bengal was thus about three times that of the amount of the Bombay or Madras Presidency. The following statistics of the students reading in the school of Bengal in 1861 shows that the Bengali Hindu was the primary beneficiary of western education, than the Muslims.

The following table we can see the Entrance Examination result (31st January 1861) of Calcutta University.<sup>1</sup>

Year 1861					
Province	No. of candidates	Christians	Muslims	Hindus	Parsees
Lower Provinces	749	41	24	683	1
Bihar	22	1	1	20	0
N.W. Provinces	23	3	1	19	0
Punjab	2	2	-	-	1
Ceylon	13	12	0	0	-
Total	869	59	26	722	2

1. See: Tarachand. Op.cit. p.210.

In the B.A. examination of the same University in the same year, 3<sup>rd</sup> candidates appeared of whom 13 passed. Of the successful candidates, 11 were Hindus, 1 Christian and 1 Muslim.

The Hindus and the Parsees, more particularly in the Presidency towns, easily took to English education when the opportunity offered itself. But the Muslims, more particularly in the interior, remained generally apathetic. In Bihar and Oudh, the Muslim landholders who possessed the means to educate their children, showed a special distaste for English education. In 1867, for instance 260 Talukadars were present at the Viceroy's Durbar at Lucknow, but only 70 children from the Talukadar families were attending schools in 1869. English schools were not at all popular among the Muslims. Even in Bengal, they were far-behind the Hindus in availing themselves of English education. In 1869, there were only two educational institutions of the Muslims in Calcutta the Collingah Madrasa and the Taltallah Library Society. These institutions compared unfavourably with the Hindu schools and colleges in respect of the number of scholars and the standard of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See : Tarachand, op.cit. p.210.

In Bombay and Madras also, the largest beneficiaries of English education were the Parsees and the Hindus, more particularly the Brahmins, Kayasths, Saraswats and the trading castes among them. Till 1860, the educated section of the Indian middle class was preponderantly Hindu and the Muslim formed only a microscopically small part of it.

The middle class went to westernised schools imbibed western ideas and learnt to use a common language English, conditioned by identical economic and political forces, their education helped them to recognise their common citizenship. With the passage of time, this educated class conscious of a common nationality grew in members and influence. It had already become aware of its rights and it soon began to organise itself to press its demands upon the rulers.<sup>1</sup>

"Almost every where", says Sir W.W.Hunter, "it was found that the Hindu population seized with vidity on the opportunities offered by the state education for bettering themselves in life. while the Mohammedan community excepting in certain locations, failed as a whole to do so. State education thus put the finishing stroke to the influence of the Mohammedans as the former ruling race in India".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See: Tarachand. Op.cit. p.211.

2. See: W.W. Hunter: Op.Cit. p.126.

In his address a President of the Indian National Congress in 1897, Mr. Rahamutullah Mohammad Sayani said :

"With the introduction of English education the Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life ; and the state system of education in 1854 completed the revolution. Indigenous methods of teaching disappeared every where, even in the mosques. After the Mohammedan conquest of India, the mosque had become the centres of Islamic educational activity and were supported by imperial of local grants of lands, But the mosques now ceased teaching, even in lower Bengal, the province which, hundred years previously, was officered by a few English men, a sprinkling of Hindus, and a multitude of Mohammedans. The Mussalmans lost all ground".<sup>1</sup>

In this time (after revolt ) while on the one side educated Muslims were very few, on the other hand some great poet and scholars were badly suppressed by the British. As it stated :

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1. Quoted in Roots of Communal Politics, by G. Gerald Barrier, New Delhi, p. 175.



"Ghalib is very critical of the behaviour of the British towards Delhi people in general and Muslims in particular, after the suppression of the revolt of his friends, Sheikh Imam Baksh, a great scholar and poet was shot along with two of his sons. Maulana Fazle Haq, the distinguished scholar was sent to Andaman where he wrote a book in Arabic on the great revolt entitled 'As-Sauratul-Hindis' (The Indian Revolution); Nawab Mustafa Khan "Shefta" was sent to Jail; Maulana Mohammad Baqar, a great Shiva divine, the founder of the first important literary newspaper in Urdu and the father of Mohammad Husain "Azad" was shot dead".<sup>1</sup>

He again says :

"Muhrir" Shikohabadi was a famous poet of the Lucknow School, attached to the Nawab of Farrukhabad. He was arrested, summarily tried and sent to the Andamans."<sup>2</sup>

As for as the question of employment was concerned, the Muslims were the worst sufferer. As early

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1. See : Rebellion 1857, A Symposium.  
Ed. by P.C. Joshi, p.240  
People's Publishing House 1957.

2. Ibid, p. 140.

as 1867 when there were two vacancies in the Bengal Council (one being filled by Peary Chand Mitra), the Lieutenant Governor Sir William Grey wanted the other to be filled by an English -speaking Muhammedan gentleman, but he pointed out in his letter to the Viceroy dated 30 December, 1867, that such men were 'extremely rare'. The leaders of the Mohammedan community repeatedly asserted that throughout the period 1867-1912, the Hindus were monopolizing most of the important posts.<sup>1</sup> Jayanti Mitra stated :

"Despite their educational backwardness, if the Muslims felt frustrated for their inadequate representation in the services what they failed to perceive was that the educated Hindus were even more septical as the appointments which they received were but a poor pittance, hardly commensurate with their qualifications".<sup>2</sup>

The Bengali middle-class was the most prominent in seeking the jobs in Government offices. They

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1. See : Separatism in education and employment: by Jayanti Mitra, Calcutta, 1984. p.157.

2. Jayanti Mitra. Op. cit. p.157.

were the highly qualified and well acquainted in English language. They were also the most loyal of the British. Return showing the number of appointments under the Lietenant Governor of Bengal not less than Rs.150 per mensem to which natives of India were nominated in each of the years from 1867 to 1871.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Quoted by Jayanti Mitra: Op.cit.p 158.  
See also: Home Establishment 1874. no.7.

Miscellaneous Officers	Sub-Ex-Service, Dy-Magistrates, Sub-Registrars, Assessors and Extra-Assst. Commissioner										Sub-Judicial Service		Police	Medical	Total		Remarks
Year	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu	Muslims	Hindu	Muslims	Hindu	Muslim	Hindu	Muslims	Hindu	Muslims	Hindu	Muslims	Hindu	Muslims	
1867	47	03	73	12	09	01	n11	n11	08	n11	137	16					
1868	42	04	59	05	13	01	04	02	97	01	125	13					
1869	58	03	91	10	32	03	n11	n11	09	01	190	17					
1870	32	04	48	06	34	05	..	..	03	n11	117	15					
1871	28	n11	24	06	25	04	..	..	11	01	88	11					

Sir W.W. Hunter's data also shows the seriousness of the Muslim position. Classifying the following as "the three fair and ostensible monopolies of official life in India:

- 1) Military command;
- 2) Collection of Revenue;
- 3) Judicial or political employ

Hunter says, as regards the first, that "no Muhammadan gentleman of birth can enter our regiments".<sup>1</sup>

In a footnote he illustrated this by showing how a ridiculously small number of Muslims held commissions from the Governor-General and "as far as I can learn, not one from the Queen".<sup>2</sup>

Referring to the second category, Hunter criticised the policy of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore in ending the permanent settlement in Bengal. James O'Kinesly, the officer who had studied the permanent settlement minutely.

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1. Quoted by W.W. Hunter in his Indian Mussalmans, p.160

2. Hunter: Indian Mussalmans, p.163.

According to him the permanent settlement in Bengal "elevated the Hindu collectors, who, upto that time, had held but important posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule"<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the third category of official employment Hunter was more emphatic. "None of the native gentlemen who won their way into the covenanted civil services or upto the bench of the High Court are Musalmans", he wrote. In proof of his contention, he quoted the following figures :

- 1). In the highest grade "there is now one Musalman to three Hindus".
- 2). In the second grade "there is now one Musalman to ten Hindus".
- 3). In the third grade "there are now three Musalmans to a total of 24 Hindus and English".
- 4). In the lower ranks "there are now four among a total of 39.

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1. Quoted by Hunter in his Indian Mussalmans, p.160.

5). Among the probationers "there is now not a single Mohammadan....."<sup>1</sup>

This was, indeed, very depressing for the "Muhammedan aristocracy" which less than a hundred years earlier" retained all the functions of Government in their own hands".

In the less conspicuous departments, the situation was much worse ;

"In the three grades of Assistant Government Engineers there were fourteen Hindus and not one Mussalman; among the apprentices there were four Hindus and two Englishmen, and not one Mussalman. Among the sub-engineers and supervisors of Public Works Departments there were twenty-four Hindus to one Mussalman; among the Overseers two Mussalmans to sixty-three Hindus. In the offices of Account there were fifty names of Hindus and not one Mussalman; and in the upper subordinate department there were twenty-two Hindus and again not one Mussalman".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. p.163.

2. Quoted by Hunter : Op. cit. 9. 167.

Hunter did not like "to multiply instances of a fact that is patent in every page of the civil list, but he made an elaborate list of" the gazetted appointments for which Englishmen, Hindus and Mussalmans are alike eligible and proved that in the distribution of state patronage in Bengal in 1871, the proportion of Hindus to Europeans was more than one-half while the proportion of Muslims to Europeans was less than one-fourteenth. "In fact", Hunter sadly commented, "there is now scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Muhamadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots and mender of pens".<sup>1</sup>

The professions of law and medicine, the most respectable and lucrative occupations of the time, were more strictly closed to the Muslims than even the official service. Citing many glaring instances in support of his point, Hunter remarked, "It matters not to what department or profession I turn, the result is the same". He gave, for instance, the following figures from the Calcutta University for the year 1869:

Among graduates of Medicine :

3 Hindus ; 1 English; and nil Mussalmans.

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1. Quoted by Hunter : Op. cit. 9.167.



Among bachelors of Medicine :

10 Hindus; 1 English and nil Muslims

Among Licentiates of Medicine:

98 Hindus, 5 English, and 1 Muslim

Such being the state of affairs, Government service, as well as other professions were all shut to the Muslims by "the over powering rush of highly educated Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

About the same time that Hunter carried out his investigations into the condition of Muslims in Bengal, Lord Hobert wrote his famous minute on "Muhammedan Education and Employment of Mohammedans in the Public Services". He confined himself to Madras and tried to explain the various causes which, according to him, were responsible for "the gradual disappearance of Muhammedans from the public services of the country. Most of the causes given were familiar; and Hobert, with all his knowledge and authority

1. Ibid. p.172.

Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria 'Indian Mussalman'.

as the Governor of Madras, came to the conclusion that "such disappearance is by no means imaginary as far as concerns this Presidency".<sup>1</sup>

In a table annexed to the Minute, he showed how, of the 485 Indians employed in the Upper Grades of the unconvenanted Civil Service, 417 were Hindus and only 19 Muslims. Their distribution department-wise was as under :

(A) Judicial Department :

Principal sadar Amins (on Rs. 500) :

10 Hindus ; nil Muslims ; 2 others.

District Munsifs (on Rs. 200 to 300)

27 Hindus; 6 Muslims ; 17 others.

(B) Revenue and Magisterial Department:

Deputy Collectors and Magistrates (On Rs. 250 to 600)

31 Hindus; 2 Muslims ; 17 others.

Tehsildars- 143 Hindus ; 4 Muslims ; 90 others

Sub-Magistrates - 146 Hindus; 7 Muslims ; 40 others

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1. See : Hobart: Minute No.11 dated July 29, 1872,  
See his Essays and Miscellaneous writings  
II, pp. 270-88. Also see his Minute No. XXX  
II, pp. 451-53.

In Bombay the position of Muslims was no better. In the higher-Government appointments in that Presidency (though they were very rare for Indians during those days) we do not come across, while going through the Indian Army and Civil Services list for 1871, a single Muslim name. Of the 4 important posts held in the judicial department by Indians, 3 were held by Hindus and 1 by a Parsi.<sup>1</sup>

For most Government appointments under the British a knowledge of English was essential; and the Muslims were far from acquiring it. The comparative figures overleaf of Hindu and Muslim students studying in Government institutions in the Presidency of Bombay during the year 1871-72 helps in understanding the state of affairs as it then existed. The figures are only from those institutions which specialised in Law, medicine, Engineering, Teaching, Industrial Arts, etc:<sup>2-</sup>

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1. Quoted by W.W. Hunter in his *Indian Musalmans*, p.15. Also see: *The Indian Army and Civil Service List 1871*.
  2. See: *Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the years 1871-72*.

	Hindus	Muslims	Division
	339	21	Central
	49	-	North-East
	149	13	Northern
	160	11	Southern
	39	32	Sind
Total	736	77	

In private colleges like St. Xavier's in Bombay there was not a single Muslim student.<sup>1</sup>

If we go through the membership of the legal profession between Hindu and Muslim in the U.P. 1873 to 1929; the following facts come out :

	YEARS					
	1873	1889	1899	1909	1919	1929
Hindu	88	608	890	1222	1620	1847
Muslim	98	33 <sup>r</sup>	402	455	453	460

1. Source : Thacker's Bengal Directory for 1873 which later became Thacker's Indian Directory.

It shows the decreasing numbers of the Muslims year by year.<sup>1</sup>

So far as service in the Army Department especially in the Presidency of Bengal, were concerned, Lord Curzon's enquiry in 1900 explained the following figures:<sup>2</sup>

Army Departments	Hindus	Muslims
Native Army	90,500	48,500
Imperial service troops	11,500	5,000
Military lines and		
Military police	14,500	9,500
Total	1,16,000	63,000

Personnel of the executive and judicial services 1886-87 shows the clear situation between the Hindus and the Muslims.

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1. Quoted by Tarachand in his: Op.cit. p. 402.

2.

The annexed table shows in regard to existing incumbents of offices in the Executive and Judicial services of the several provinces:<sup>1</sup>

Province	<u>Executive services</u>		<u>Judicial services</u>	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
Madras	184	12	113	2
Bombay and Sind	221	20	107	1
Bengal	249	44	273	9
N.W. and Oudh	191	173	71	62
punjab	107	93	54	34
Central Province	76	20	15	2
Hyderabad Assigned Districts	18	6	11	1
Assam	46	5	10	1
Total	1092	373	654	112

The above figures show the real differences in the services of both executive and judicial in different parts between the Hindus and the Muslims.

1. Source : Present incumbents according to nationality  
Report of the Public Service Commission 1988  
c.5327. Sect. 53 pp.27-31.

+27.7 percent

+27.4 percent

In the years 1900-01 and 1901-03 the representation of the communities in the Municipal Boards of the U.P. (then N.W.P.) was as follows:

Representation	1900-01	1901-03
Total number of representatives	1392	1399
Hindus	741	743
Muslims	381+	384*
Others	270	272

In 1909, the Mohammadans formed 14% of the population as against 84% Hindus, yet "Mohammedan electors formed 23 per cent of the total number of electors for district boards..... In as many as 29 Districts out of 45 the proportion of Mohammedan members was greater than the proportion of Mohammadans to the total population".<sup>1</sup>

The total number of members of the District Boards was 663, of whom 445 were Hindus and 189 Mohammadans or 28% (exclusive of officials members). In Municipal

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1. Quoted by Tarachand: Op. Cit. from Bishan Narain Dar, Presidential Address, 26th Congress, Calcutta, 1911, p.400.

Boards there were 562 Hindus and 310 Mohammadans or 32%. Hewett's conclusion was, so while holding that "Mohammedans were entitled to more than a proportional representation, it could not be said that the present system affected them unfavourably."<sup>1</sup>

In the middle of 1911 there were 116 Hindus and 67 Mohammedans elected members, 10 Hindus and 2 Mohammedans nominated members, and in Municipal Boards 207 Hindus and 89 Mohammadans elected members, and 36 Hindus and 36 Mohammedans nominated members.

In this way though the percentage of Muslim electors were low than Hindus, yet it was not true to say that the Muslims were discriminated against all over India in the matter of local Governments. So far as the Legislative Councils were concerned they were constituted on the basis of the Councils Acts of 1892. In the Act the provision relating to the Provinces was that some of the non-official members were nominated by Government while others were recommended by local bodies or corporations, religious communities, Municipalities, Universities, Chambers of Commerce etc.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid. p. 401.

2. See Tarachand: Op. cit. p.401.



In 1861 the Queen, for the first time, conferred some British titles on a few Indians, among whom there were, of the 8 knight Commanders, 6 Hindus and 2 Muslims. Ten years later in 1871, the distribution of some of the highest honours among Indian was as under :-

Knights Grand Commanders (mostly princes) :

11 Hindus : 1 Muslim

Knights Commanders : 8 Hindus : 4 Sikhs; 2 Muslims

Companions : 9 Hindus; 3 Sikhs, 1 Prasi ;

11 Muslims.

Still ten years later the distribution was :

Knights Grand Commanders: 9 Hindus; 1 Sikh ;

4 Muslims

Knights Commanders: 15 Hindus: 4 Muslims

Companions : 16 Hindus; 1 Sikh: 12 Muslims

In 1885 the communal ratio of title -holder was :

Knights Grand Commanders : 11 Hindus ; 4 Muslims.

Knight Commanders : 12 Hindus: 1 Sikh ; 2 Muslims

Companions: 13 Hindus; 3 Parsees; 3 Sikhs ;

12 Muslims.

On January 1, 1878 , the Queen instituted a new Order called the Order of the Indian Empire. In 1885, under this order of the ex-office companions, 4 were Hindus and 1 Muslims ; while among companions 25 were Hindus, 4 Sikhs, 4 Parsees and 21 Muslims. The same year the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, meant exclusively for ladies,+ consisted of 7 Hindus and 2 Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Analysing these figures one find a that the highest awards, in the beginning at any rate were mostly given to the Hindus, the Hindu Rajas being more trusted than the Muslim Nawabs. Only in the lower grades, the new Muslim aristocracy began to be equally honoured. This is noticeable particularly in the list of companions. These awards, however, were not made on communal lines; there is nothing on record to warrant such a deduction. Nor were there a certificate of public service. More often than not these used to be a recognition of the status and social position of the leading princess, landlords, reformers and public men. These titles also

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+The two Muslim ladies were their Highness the Begum of Bhopal and the Begum of Hyderabad.

1. See : Rafiq Zakaria : Op. cit. pp. 43-44.

show how weak the Muslims were in all those activities which then constituted what we should call public life.

In spite of many efforts in many directions by some responsible Muslim leaders, (as Sir Syyed Ahmed Khan ) the position of Muslims had not greatly changed. Of course there was some improvement ; but in no sense was it commensurate with either the urgency of the time or the need of situation. The following table will give a fair idea of rate of progress among the Muslims as far as University education was concerned :<sup>1</sup>

Period	Percentage of Muslims in the total Hindu and Muslim graduates in the various faculties during 1858 to 1887.				
	Arts	Law	Medicine/ Surgery	Engineering	Total
1858-63	1.13	-	2.2	-	1.1
1864-69	1.9	1.6	2.6	-	1.8
1870-75	1.2	1.5	4.2	-	1.6
1876-81	2.03	1.3	9.93	-	1.5
1882-87	3.6	4.3	2.0	1.5	3.6

1. See : Rafiq Zakaria : op. cit , pp. 44-45.

On the whole, therefore, the Muslims at this time, both socially and economically, were in a deplorable condition. Sir Syed felt so distressed that on the 26th of May 1875, addressing the elite of the Muslim population at Azimabad (Patna), he said :

"Now you take a glance at the whole of India and bring before your eyes its various organisations. Look at the Government Departments; Look at the factories or Railway; Look at small shops or big trading concerns; Look at any kind of private enterprise and just find out for yourselves how many of the employed and Musalmans. I dare say the proportion would not be more than one to a thousand".<sup>1</sup>

On July 15, 1885, the govt. of India issued a very comprehensive resolution on the "Education of the Muhammedan community in British India and their employment in the public service generally", in which, after full consultations with the various provincial and local Governments, it gave as its considered opinion that "the

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1. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria, Op.Cit. p.16 from : Sir Syed : Lectureen-ka-Majmua (Urdu text)p. 86.

Chief draw-back in the way of the advancement of the Mohammedan community in times past has been their inability or unwillingness to take full advantage of the state system of education".<sup>1</sup>

Why did the Muslims lose their superior position in administration? why did they lose it so heavily ? There were many reasons.

First is that this was not sudden. It took almost a century. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor, made a formal grant of Dewani to the East India company on August 12, 1765 by which it could undertake the collection of Government revenues. This however, did not produce any material change in the political condition of trust and responsibility.<sup>2</sup>

The official language was Persian even criminal justice was administered by the Nawab Nazim. In fact , for a considerable length of time, the whole

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1. See "Education of the Muhammeden Community in British India and their employment in the Public Service generally", supplement to the Gazette of India, July 18, 1885.

2. See, F. D. Assef: Early Revenue History of Bengal..... pp 29-37.

fiscal and judicial administration of Bengal was left to the Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis separated the two offices of Justice and Revenue and entrusted them to different officers. Most of the higher executive appointments, he reserved exclusively for Europeans. In the administration of Justice also he introduced many changes. All this had a harmful effect on the Muslims. By the end of Lord Amherst's Governor-generalship, the political status of the Muslims was damaged beyond repair. The muslim jagiradars had lost their power of collecting revenue and the Muslim fiscal officers were substituted by English collectors. The Muslims lost their lands, which the Hindus bought. This, in a way, was the beginning of Hindu prosperity and Muslim poverty in Bengal.

Further, when lord william Bentinck became the Governor-General, he directed an examination of the title deeds of land holders, special Courts were

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1. See: Cambridge History of India, U.P. 434.

created for the purpose which, according to Hunter and Buchanan, were often misled by "informers, false witnesses and clam, stern resumption officers".<sup>1</sup> Whoever failed to establish his full title to the grants from the Mughals, lost his lands and property. As a consequence many Muslim families became paupers.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these "resumption proceedings", as they were called, the next blow that fell on the Muslims was the abolition of Persian as the Court language of India in 1837. In its place, English or the provincial languages were substituted. This step, threw many Muslim clerks and subordinate officers out of employment. The Muslim neither knew English nor had a proper knowledge of provincial language like Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Telegu, Tamil and Gujrati, which were fast developing under the British. Moreover, the abrogation of the Muhammedan Criminal Law and the promulgation of the Indian Penal Code struck a most grievous blow to the already fallen prosperity of the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

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1. According to the friend of India (April 30, 1846), the British Govt. appropriated, as a result of these proceedings, an additional annual revenue of Rs.4500,000

2. See: K.C. Mittar, Dwarikanath Tagore pp.32-33.

3. See : Syed Ameer Ali's Lecture on "The Mohammedans of India" to the London Association in aid of Social Progress in India on Nov.16, 1871.

In this connection some of the causes given by the W. Nassaulees, Principal of the Mohammedan College of Calcutta in a series of letters to The Times :

According to him, the main Muslim grievances were :-

1. That the Inam Commission unjustly deprived many Muslim families of the lands given to them by the Muslim rulers of India;
2. That the Act, giving rights of inheritance to converts to christianity, weakened the foundation of Islamic Civil and religious law;
3. That the Government, by abolishing the offices of Kazi and Muslim law officers, dealt a severe blow to the social and economic life of the Muslims.
4. That the Government, by misappropriating Muslim educational funds and awkaf, deprived them of all the benefits to which they were legitimately entitled (with special reference to the famous Mohsin Fund).



5. That the Government kept its doors closed to Muslims learned in their own sciences, laws, literature and language;
6. That the Hindus elbowed them out of almost all official appointments and the Govt. made no efforts to rectify this injustice.<sup>1</sup>

The accumulated effect of all these causes was the elimination of the Muslims from all Govt. offices. And since the Muslims relied mostly on Government jobs, unemployment and poverty became their lot.

But what ever might have been the reasons for this tragic state of affairs, it was realised by many leading Muslims in Bengal and elsewhere that if their co-religionists were to move with the times they must concentrate at once on English education and readjust their social habits to suit the changed conditions.

This was no ordinary task. It demanded a radical change not only in the outlook of the Muslims

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1. Quoted by Rafiq Zakaria : Op. cit. pp. 24-25 from W. Nassau Lees: Indian Mussalmans.

but in their whole environment. An overwhelming majority of the Muslims, addicted to old ideas and customs, was opposed to any such change. Those Muslims, therefore, who took a lead in trying to create a new Islamic structure in India, based on new values, found themselves up against heavy odds.

In this connection, "the biggest hurdle which they had to encounter were the Ulama<sup>1</sup>, who still held immense sway over the Muslim gentry as well as the masses. A relic of bygone Islam, fed on conventions and effete traditions, this group of theologians preached not only non-co-operation with the Hindus, they also fought against every plan for public welfare emanating from the Government, regardless of its merits. The handful of Muslims who had taken to English education were socially ostracised by the Ulama and branded as Kafirs."<sup>2</sup>

Hali wrote, "The man who wants to improve his low condition is not only called shiftless and a coward but all kinds of vilifications are hurled against him, the commonest being the fatwa of Ilhad."<sup>3</sup>

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1. According to Hughes' dictionary of Islam the word Ulama is defined thus: It is a plural form of word 'Alim': one who knows; learned; a scholar. It defines of those bodies of learned doctors in Mohammedan divinity.

2. P. H. Hali: *Maqalat-e-Hali*, pp. 14-15.

3. Hali: *Maqalat-e-Hali*, Part I, p. 28.

According to the Ulama the salvation of the Muslims lay in a renewed and vigorous effort to go back to Islam in most cases as interpreted by them. The Ulama not only managed to keep the uneducated masses on their side, mostly by appealing to their religious instincts ; but they also got the support of many Muslim poets and writers, and thus maintained their hold on the intellectuals as well. Among them, the most prominent was the great Urdu poet, Akbar Allahabadi, who through humour and satire, so beautifully ridiculed the new trends and movements in India that his admirers called him- Lisan-ul-Asr- the mouth piece of the age. In one of his many poems, dealing with the coming on-slaught of new social changes in India, he says:

"Those who are of the New Light do not heed me.  
A hundred thousand times I tell them this light  
will go out :

My companions are the sun, the moon and the  
stars. They are fixed in their places for  
they have old Light".<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Talib Allahabadi's Akbar Allahabadi (Urdu Text), p.62.

Inspite of the hurdles of Ulama the English education was learnt by the Muslims. There were many reasons for this. First, the policy of the British to give all encouragement to English education; secondly, the material advances made by the Hindus, Parsees and Sikhs as a result of taking to English education; thirdly, the hard work done by men like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Sye<sup>2</sup> Ameer Ali and Badruddin Tayabji, and lastly the growing consciousness among influential Muslims that attachment to the old ways and old methods would take them nowhere. As Hali, in a Classic passage wrote:

"O! Ye the Mussalmans of India:

Are you still in the same world in which your fathers and grand fathers passed their lives? And are you still expecting plants to grow in the fields where your elders sowed the seeds? It is long since that word disappeared and those fields got destroyed. Now open your eyes and see what you are? And where you are? Do you know that the coins you have are not worth a broken shell in the bazar, and that no one is willing to take the things you have in your shops even as gifts. The oil in your lamp is burn out and the water in your fields has gone

dry. Take care! your boat is broken and there is a tide in the sea".<sup>1</sup>

Shibli, though himself a renowned theologian, was much more ruthless his attacks against orthodoxy. He brought all his knowledge of Islam and Islamic history to dislodge the Ulama. He quoted verses from the Quran, texts from the Hadith and authorities from the Fiqah, to prove that Islam always adapted to changing times.<sup>2</sup>

The worst cause of Muslim backwardness was the British Policy of 'Divide and Rule', actually it can be traced as far back as 1821, when a British Officer, signing himself Carnaticus, wrote in the Asiatic Journal: "Divide at impera" should be the motto of our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military."<sup>3</sup>

Lt. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad, wrote at the time of Sepoy Mutiny : Our endeavours should lie to uphold in full force the separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. 'Divide et impera' should be the principle of Indian Govt."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Quoted from Hali : Maqalat-e-Hali (Urdu Text) I, p. 34.

2. See : Shibli : Maqalat-e-Shibli (Urdu Text Book) p. 178.

3. See: British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, part II. Ed. by R.C. Majumdar. Bhartiya Vidhya Bhawan, Bombay, 1965 p. 32.

Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote in a minute dated May 14, 1859;

"Divide et impera was the old Roman Motto and it should be ours".<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Strachey, another eminent British Civilian, observed :

"The existence, side by side of hostile creeds among the Indian is one of the strong points in our political position in India".<sup>2</sup>

At first the policy of 'Divide and Rule' worked in favour of the Hindus, for, as the British dispossessed the Muslim rulers they naturally looked upon the Muslims as their enemies and favoured the Hindus as a counterpoise to them. A clear enunciation of this policy was made by Lord Ellenborough, writing to the Duke of Wellington from Simla on October 4, 1842.

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1. Ibid p. 320.

2. Ibid, p. 321.

after the fall of Kabul and Ghazani, he remarked that while the Muslims, as a class, desired the failure of the English in Afghanistan, the Hindus were delighted, and then observed :

"It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenth which are faithful".<sup>1</sup>

Again writing to Willington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said,

"I cannot close my eyes to the belief that, that race (Musalmans) is fundamentally hostile to us and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus".<sup>2</sup>

This anti-Muslim and pro-Hindu feeling was further developed after the sepoy mutiny of 1857, as the British regard the Muslims as its chief instigators. Thus H.H. Thomas (retired I.C.S.) observed that

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1. See : R.C. Majumdar: Op.cit. p. 321.

2. Ed. by R.C. Majumdar: Op.cit. p. 321.

"the Hindus were not the contrivers or the primary movers of the (1857) rebellion....it was the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy".<sup>1</sup>

The policy of favouring the Muslims as a counterpoise against the Hindus was gradually adopted by the British during the eighties and nineties. On January, 1887, Lord Cross, the Secretary of States, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, in connection with the abstention of the Muhammadans from the Indian National Congress that "This division of religious feeling is to our advantage".<sup>2</sup>

The British captured in its net of 'Divide and Rule' to the Hindus, and sometimes to the Muslims. In this way they tried to aloof from unity to them. So that they (Hindu, Muslim) could not create a problem for the British Raj.

#### PARTITION OF BENGAL

The British policy had divided the Hindus and the Muslims in the field of education, employment, land

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1. Ibid.p.

2. See: P.C. Majumdar : Op.cit p. 325.



settlements but this policy was followed up by separatism in politics also. The effects of Hindi-Urdu duel had scarcely subsided when the Govt. delivered another blow more deadly and more far-reaching. The Muslims had been ruffled too deeply and so had to be mollified. Hindu solidarity, self-consciousness, and strength were increasing by leaps and bounds, and had to be crushed at all costs. So the Govt. prepared a bomb which was calculated to cripple the political life of the whole Hindu community. In 1905, it partitioned Bengal and divided it into a Hindu and Muslim section. It became effective from October 16, 1905.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Curzon was away in England from 10th April to 9th December, 1904. On his return he took up the consideration of the question in right earnest. Risely, the Home Secretary, had drafted his note and explained the virtues of the Machiavellian Plan. Some of them may be narrated in his own words. He wrote:

"Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided will pull in several different ways. That is what to Congress leaders feel, their apprehensions are perfectly correct and they form one of the greatest merits of the scheme".

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1. See: History of the Freedom Movement in India by Tarachand, Vol. III, pp.311-312.

Again,

"One of our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule".<sup>1</sup>

The British Government claimed that the partition of Bengal into two Provinces was purely an administrative measures.

For this purpose, in February 1904, Lord Curzon made an official tour of the district of Eastern Bengal "Ostensibly with the object of ascertaining public opinion, but really to overawe it". The Viceroy addressed public meetings at Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensing. The meetings that he addressed were specially convened for the purpose and his audiences were mostly Mohammedans. He explained to them, "that his object in partition Bengal was not only to relieve the Bengal administration, but also to create a Mohammedan Province where Islam would be predominant and its followers in the ascending and that with this view he had decided to include the two remaining districts

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1. Quoted by Tarachand: Ibid, p. 313.

of the Dacca division in his scheme".<sup>1</sup>

The policy was candidly stated by an Anglo-Indian Daily of Calcutta. "The object of the partition of Bengal are briefly, firstly to destroy the collective power of the Bengali people, secondly, to overthrow the political ascendancy of Calcutta, and thirdly, to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of a Mohammedan power which it is hoped will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the educated Hindu community".<sup>2</sup>

Thus the measure was fatelily designed to create Hindu-Muslim disunion for, while it was meant to crush the Hindus, it was seemingly calculated to benefit the Mussalmans at their expense. "The Hindus had gloated over the discomfiture of the Muslims in the Hindi-Urdu controversy, it was now the turn of the Mussalmans to gloat over the dis-comfiture of the Hindus. The Government counted on the whole-hearted and universal support

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1. Quoted by Vinod Kumar Saxena, in his: Muslims and the Indian National Congress. (Discovery Publication, Delhi, 1985), p.111.

2. Quoted in 'Hindu-Muslim Problem, p.199.

of the Mussalmans, but as the community was weak and politically disorganised, not much could be expected from them in the nature of active support, while from the Hindu side an outburst of popular feeling followed which exceeded all the calculations of the Government".<sup>1</sup>

To begin with, the partition of Bengal was unpalatable to all sections of the Bengalis, both Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims for whom a Province was sought to be created by the Viceroy were opposed to the measure. Nevinson writes :

"I was in haste, because I had an appointment with the Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, certainly the most influential in the city, and perhaps in the Province. For the population of eastern Bengal, though nearly all Bengali is about three-fifths Mohammadans, and owing to his father's wealth, wisdom and public munificence, the Nawab is regarded by the Mohammedans as their natural leader.....when the partition was first suggested, he was as much opposed to it as any Bengali could be, and I was told that, in his simple hearted way, he described it as "beastly".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted in Hindu-Muslim Problem, p.199.

2. Henry, W. Nevinson; *The New Spirit in India* (London 1908), pp. 190-91.

The Muslim chronicle, Calcutta, in its editorial dated 9th January, 1904 said :

"We do not recollect that there has, in the discussion of public questions ever before so much unanimity of voice as that which is raising its shouts of protest against the proposed partition of Bengal."<sup>1</sup>

The Central Mohammedan Association of Calcutta condemned the proposed partition of Bengal at a meeting held in February 1904. Most of the speakers at the said meeting were very important Muslim leaders of the time. They were Mir Motahar Hussain, Zamindar of Barisal, Saraj-ul-Islam Chaudhary of Chittagong, member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and Abdul Hamid, Editor of the Muslim Chronicle. The views of the Central Mohammedan, Calcutta Association's Secretary Ameer Husain observed :

"My committee are of opinion that no partition of the Bengal speaking race should be separated from Bengal without the clearest necessity for such separation, and they think in the present case such necessity does not exist".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See Muslim Chronicle (Calcutta) 9th Jan. 1904.
  2. B.L. Grover : A Documentary Study of British Policy towards Indian Nationalism (1885-1909) (Delhi, 1967), p.56.

Besides Muslims, a large section of Anglo-Indian press such as 'The Statesman', 'The Englishman', and the 'Times of India' condemned it.

The Bengali Hindus resisted the partition of their province with all the vehemence at their command. They felt that it was a deliberate attempt on the part of the British Government to drive a wedge at the growing solidarity of the Bengali speaking people and to create differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal. Benerji says :

"To have divided Bengal into two provinces, keeping the Bengali speaking population together in one province and the rest in the other, would have removed all administrative inconvenience, whatever they were, and gratified public opinion, but this would not suit Lord Curzon and his Govt., for, as we believe, there was an underlying motive, which would not be satisfied with such a division of the province".<sup>1</sup>

The partition of Bengal was resisted by the public opinion not only in Bengal but all over the country. B.C.Pal, an important Bengali leader of the time said,

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1. Quoted by Vinod Kumar Saxena, Op.cit. pp. 113-14.

"The whole country with one voice have protested against it and have played that the mischief may be stayed. The protest has been given any heed to".<sup>1</sup>

The agitation against the partition of Bengal began from the city of Calcutta. There was a public meeting at the Town Hall of Calcutta on 7th August, 1905, which was organised by the prominent leaders of Bengal like Surendra Nath Banerjee and Babu Ananth Bandhu Guha. The resolutions were passed condemning the partition of Bengal and appealing to the Government to repeal the same. But it did not have any effect on the Government.

The Government tried to suppress the anti-partition agitation by introducing repressive measures. The singing of national songs and even the cry of 'Bande Mantram' were forbidden. School boys were prosecuted, military and punitive police were quartered in certain areas, public meetings were forcibly dispersed and even Surendra Nath Banerjee, a much respected leader was manhandled and humiliated at Barisal. Rash Behari Ghosh observed :

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1. B.C. Pal : Swadeshi and Swaraj (Calcutta 1954), p.45.

"If Bengali is still in a disturbed condition, it is only because the partition of Bengal is a festering sore which will not be healed".<sup>1</sup>

Besides, trying to suppress the agitation, the British Government also tried to win over the Muslims to its side. We have seen that the Muslims were opposed to the partition plan in the beginning. Lord Curzon had created a Muslim majority province, of course, without the Muslims' demanding the same. He therefore thought it necessary to enlist the support of the Muslims to his plan.

Anyway the British Government was able to win over Nawab Salimullah to its side, "The Mussalmans of East Bengal", says A.C. Majumdar, "headed by Nawab Salimullah of Decca saw their opportunity and took the bait. Henceforth, the Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal forgetting the broader question of national advancement and ignoring the interests of their own community in western Bengal deserted the national cause and gradually began to secede from the anti-partition agitation".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by Vinod Kumar Saxena; Op. cit. p.118.

2. A.C. Majumdar ; Op. cit. p. 207.



Sir Rampfylde Fuller, the Lt. Governor of the new province made certain indiscreet speeches which had the affect of setting the Muslims against the Hindus. He said that he was an incarnation of Shaista Khan, one of the Mughal Governors of Bengal under Aurangzeb and said in jest that he had two wives, one Muslim and the other Hindu, and the Muhammeden wife was the favourite. <sup>1</sup>

"The jest was taken in earnest, and the Musalmans genuinely believed that the British authorities were ready to forgive them all excesses." <sup>2</sup>

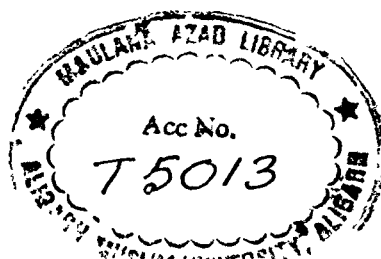
This encouraged the Mussalmans and it is said that "Priestly Mullahs went through the country preaching the revival of Islam, and proclaiming to the villagers that the British Government was on the Mohammedan side, that the law courts had been specially suspended for three months, and no penalty would be executed for violence done to Hindus, or for the loot of Hindu shops or the abduction of Hindu widows". <sup>3</sup>

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1. John Murray : Some Personal Experiences. London: 1930. pp. 140-141.

2. Henry W. Nevins. Op. cit. p.192.

3. Ibid, p. 190.



Consequently, riots broke out in eastern Bengal. "Many people were killed, temples were desecrated, images broken, shops plundered, and many Hindu widows carried off. Some of the towns were deserted, the Hindu population too refuse in any 'pukka' house, women spent nights hidden in tanks, the crime known as "group rape" increased, and throughout the country district there reigned a general terror, which still prevailed at the time of my visit.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of communal riots and the Muslims joining the British Government, the Bengalis continued to agitate against the partition. They intensified the agitation by adopting the twin weapons of 'boycott' and 'swadeshi' against the British manufactured goods. These movements were devised and used by the Bengalis as a political weapons to realise the object.

The founder of the militant school in modern Hindu politics was Bal Gangadhar Tilak who protested, partition of Bengal in his full efforts. As Mohd. Shabbir Khan observed :

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1. Henry W. Nevinston : Op. Cit. p.193.

"Tilak extended his support to the anti-partition agitation and the new extremist leaders emerging in Bengal. In June 1906, Tilak went to Calcutta to celebrate Shivaji festival in Bengal. He received a hundreds welcome from his fellow extremists. He drove in the street of Calcutta with the slogans of Bande-Matram and Shivaji-Ki-Jai".<sup>1</sup>

Tilak's procession was going with the banners and drums and the students were so much cheered that they unhorsed the carriage in which Tilak was sitting and drove it themselves through the streets. Khaparde, a close associate of Tilak wrote in his diary that when Tilak went for a public bath to the Ganges scene was "unique and they worshipped Tilak like a God. A part of the worship was transferred to us also, they touched our feet, put the mud of our feet on their heads....."<sup>2</sup>

Tilak extended his anti-partition agitation. He wrote in his Kesari "We must act and not only hold meetings. Government has no respect for the opinions expressed at meetings of lakhs of people and if we don't find

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1. Mohd, Shabbir Khan: Tilak and Gokhale: Ashish Publishing House , New Delhi, 1992, p. 165.

2. Quoted by Mohd. Shabbir Khan: Op.cit. p. 165.

a remedy to counteract this, then people will very soon lose their confidence in these movements".<sup>1</sup>

Again he wrote-

The threat of boycott was hailed, since "Government will not shed its pride unless we do something to make Government angry. Government is now ignoring public opinion and treating it like a lot of fiber or grass, but when grass becomes united a rope is formed which can even bind an elephant".<sup>2</sup>

Tilak called his fellow Maharashtrais to give the Bengalis all necessary help in their boycott movement. The idea of boycott Tilak reminded his readers was first started in Maharashtra.

Before the end of 1905 Tilak had helped organise the Bharat Vastu Pracharini Sabha (society for the general use of Indian goods) which required its members to sign a pledge stating, "I do hereby solemnly promise that I will do my best to wear cloth manufactured in India, and will try also to use as far as possible Indian articles as well as to induce others to do the same".<sup>3</sup>

1. Quoted by Tara Chand, Op. cit. p.166.

2. Tara Chand : Op. Cit. p. 166.

3. Ibid, p. 168.

Tilak used religious weapons in his anti-agitation of partition. He had already started Ganapati and Shiva-festival for advocating the religious activities in his politics and gave this movement a religious fold throughout the country.

Many Hindu press emphasised its views towards partition :

The Advocate of Lucknow said that the "partition was not needed but was pressed forward with ulterior motives." <sup>1</sup>

The citizen of 24th July, 1905, described the partition of Bengal as a national calamity and requested the Government to reconsider its decision and rectify the mistake." <sup>2</sup>

The Indian People of 7th September, 1905, commented, 'It is enough to us that a unanimous public opinion had condemned the Govt's proposals in a most unmistakable language". <sup>3</sup>

1. Advocate (Lucknow) 13 July, 1905 .
2. Citizen (Allahabad, 24th July, 1905).
3. Indian People (Allahabad, 7th Sept. 1905).

The Indian National Congress opposed the proposal of the partition of Bengal tooth and nail. The Congress of 1903 expressed its "deep concern" at the Government's intention of 'breaking up territorial division which have been of long standing'.<sup>1</sup>

From 1905 to 1911, rarely a year passed when the Congress did not press the annulment of the partition of Bengal.

On the other side the Muslim Opinion and the Muslim League supported the partition of Bengal. The Muslim Presses praised it in various ways. The Aligarh Institute Gazette said :

"The partition of Bengal will prove a God-send to the Muslim residents of that province, who will now find a splendid opportunity for making rapid progress both in their education and social position".<sup>2</sup>

Some prominent Muslim leaders viz- Sheikh Moham-mad Iqbal, Maulvi Zaka-Ullah, Maulvi Shibli, Khwaja

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1. See : Report of the Proceedings of the 19th INC (Madras )1903, Resolution No. IX, p. 128.

2. See: Aligarh Institute Gazette( 13th June, 1906).

Ghulam-us-Saqlain, Sheikh Abdul Kadir Ali , were in disfavour of swadeshi movement.

However, the partition of Bengal was set a side by the Government in 1911. Perhaps by doing so, the British Government wanted to please the Hindus and showed the peaceful administration of India to its high authority.

Thus the Hindus and the Congress were against the partition of Bengal. On the other hand the Muslims and the Muslim League supported the partition of Bengal and were opposed to the anti-partition agitation. Thus on this issue the Hindus and the Muslims were ranged against each other and so were the Congress and the Muslim League. The Muslim did not like the Congress support to the anti-partition agitation. The Congress had always claimed to be a national organization representing all interests and all communities. But now the majority of the politically conscious Muslims felt that the Congress had supported a Hindu agitation against the creation of a Muslim majority province. It reinforced the Muslim belief that their interests were not safe in the hands of the Congress. The Muslim leaders of the Sir Syed School gained ascendancy among the Muslims and

were able to carry conviction with the politically conscious Muslims that the Congress was a Hindu dominated organisation. Though the partition annulled in 1911, but it created a permanent rift between the Hindus and Muslims that could never be bridged.



## CHAPTER - II

### PROBLEM CREATED BY COMMUNAL LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS

Some Hindu enthusiasts provoked the Hindu community by the propaganda that they were living under hostile conditions in India . They were told that they were surrounded by two religions the most noblest and aggressive of the period, which were drawing away a large number of their coreligious into their folds. While the lower classes were generally converted to the Muslims faith, the higher educated people embraced christianity.

The problem that confronted them most was to bring about a synthesis of the old and the new, not only intellectually but also socially, ethically and religiously. Among the great Hindu leaders there arose a young Brahmin called Mulshankar from Kathiawar, who at the age of 14 saw a mouse running over and defiling an image of Shiva, and his mind recoiled from idol-worship. It was this young Sadhu from Kathiawar who was called Swami-Dayanand and founded the Arya Samaj on 10th April in 1875 in Bombay.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See: Dayanand, Commemoration volume pp.124-125. Ed. by Har Bilas Sarda. Ajmer 1933.

Although this Arya Samaj was first inaugurated in Bombay, but was revised at Lahore in 1877. Swami Dayanand generated a repugnance for western civilization and whole-hearted turning towards the great part of his own country. "Back to the Vedas" was the key-note of all his religious and social propaganda. He devoted his mission to re-civilize India along lines that would combine the good in both- East and West, but under the inspiration and guidance of the Vedic Dharma. He preached his teachings on the Vedas. His Arya Samaj was, in fact, a Hindu protestant and Revivalist movement.<sup>1</sup> Swami Dayanand had a two-fold object in view. On the one side, he desired to purify Hindu society and to purge it of the gross superstition, and on the other, to prevent Hindu from drifting towards other faiths and towards the materialism which English education had brought in its train".

It was fact that Islam and Christianity, the rivals of Hinduism in India, were both proselytising religions, it was, therefore, necessary to give the

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1. The Hindu-Muslim Problem. p. 179.

same character to Hinduism. Hinduism had made conversions in the past, it was quietly and consciously making conversions every day. This in brief was the Swami's attitude towards the other religions. "If one comes across some mistakes in his statements concerning other religions they may be the mistakes of his informants, of those on whose authority they have been taken and criticised. Mr. Blunt, in his Census Report for the United Provinces, complains that the Aryas study a religion only in the works of its opponents."<sup>1</sup>

The spread of the Aryasamaj inspired a variety of orthodox reactions which culminated in the formation of all India orthodox defence association in 1902 , the Bharat Dharma Mandal caste Sabhas became the arenas of innumerable battles over reform.

In fact Dayanand went so far as to invite Syed A Ahmed Khan together with Keshab Chandra Sen, Babu Kanhyalal, Munshi Indraman Babu Harish Chandra and Babu Naim Chandra Roy to a colloquium in 1877 to discuss measures for social reform. This shows that swami Dayanand movement was a

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1. Quoted by Lajpat Rai in "The History of the Aryasamaj" from Blunt's Census Report., p.107.

purely religious and reform movement and was not directed against any community or religion. But his followers in 1880's and 1890's attacked the Muslims with increasing intensity. The leader of the crusade. Pt. Lakh Ram, condemned all forms of Islam, particularly the 'naturalist Muhammedis' and Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement and demanded that the Muslims should either be expelled from India or converted to Aryanism.<sup>1</sup>

Such antagonism towards the Muslims and Muslim culture resulted, almost inevitably, from the growth of a new sense of Hindu identity.

According to Tarachand :

"Some of the activities of the Arya-Samaj were controversial. Dayanand was the first Hindu reformer who protected the Hindu faith from the assaults of the Christian and the Muslim critics to fighting them on their own ground in order to oblige them to defend their position. His work 'the Satyarth Prakash'

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1. See : Separatism among Indian Muslims, by Francis Robinson : Vikas Publishing. Delhi , 1975.

raised a polemic against all the other religions. Inevitably this sharpened communal differences and accentuated mutual antipathies."<sup>1</sup>

Prof Sydney Webb, the English Fabian thinker, rightly described the Arya Samaj as "the most important religious movement in the whole of India".<sup>2</sup> The Arya Samaj was a totally religious movement which was run by Hindu leaders. Their aim was to convert people from others religions and bring them into the Hindu fold. As sister Niv-dita observes :

"It is surprising to think how radical a change is entailed in many directions by this conception, We are no longer oppressed with jealousy or fear when we contemplate encroachments on our social and religious consciousness. Indeed, the idea of encroachment has ceased because our work is not now to protect ourselves but to convert others."<sup>3</sup>

#### COW-PROTECTION

Another plank in the programme of the Arya Samaj which led to serious trouble was the protection of the

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1. Tarachand : History of the Freedom Movement in India. Vol. II. Publication Division, Govt. of India, 1982.
  2. Quoted by D. Vable in 'The Arya Samaj' Vikash Publishing New Delhi 1983, p.23.
  3. Quoted by D. Vable. op. cit. p.109.

cow. In 1882, a co -protection association was formed, preachers were appointed for propaganda and funds were collected to save cows from slaughter.

The problem of cow-protection arose in the Punjab, where under the Sikh rule, the killing of cows was strictly prohibited and the offenders were liable to the death penalty.<sup>1</sup> The Hindus and Sikhs were wanted to stop it while the Muslims regarded cow sacrifice as their religious right. After the annexation, the prohibition (cow-killing) was abolished. The Hindus and the Sikhs felt resentful at this, but the Muslims were pleased that a valuable right was conceded. After the foundation of Arya Samaj (1865) cow-protection societies were organised in many places in almost all provinces. The religious teachers toured the country, cattle pounds were opened and an agitation for the prohibition of cowkilling was started. A number of Hindu Rajas and Zamindars supported the movement. Among the Sikh, the Namdharis of Bhaini (Ludhiana) took the lead.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See: History of the Freedom Movement in India, by Tarachand, Vol.II, p.423.

2. History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol.II, by Tarachand, p.424.

In 1882 Swami Dayanand had already formed the Gau-Rakshni Sabha or cow protection association, and published 'Gokarunanidhi' a book which aimed to rouse the Hindus against the beef-eating Christians and Muslims. It encouraged them petition Government to stop cow-killing. "Once the movement reached its climax in 1893 when vicious rioting broke out in these areas in which Muslim villagers were meassacred by lawless bands of Hindus"<sup>1</sup>.

Some Muslims were always in favour of the Hindus to stop the cow-killing. In U.P. they supported prohibition of cow-killing as a religious question. Maulana Abdul Hai of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, a very eminent theologian of India, and three other Ulama, gave the following Judgment (fatwa) which made it clear that by giving up cow-sacrifice no sin was committed and no defect caused in the performance of the rite of sacrifice :

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1. Separatism among Indian Muslims by Francis Robinson, pp. 77-78.



"It is necessary for us . . . that we should abstain from giving pain to the Hindus. We should prevent our people from being guilty of such action. Cow-killing is not at all a religious injunction of Islam, hence it is the highest value to abstain from such a futile action".<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand the Hindus asked the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice on the plea that it hurt their feelings, the Muslims on the other hand pressed the Hindus to abstain from performing their religious ceremonies as were opposed to the teachings of Islam. These arguments only brought the Hindus and Muslims closer to clash. Conflicts between the two communities continued to occur and hampered the peaceful march of the country. As Y.B. Mathur says :

"The Muslim objected to the playing of music before mosques on the ground that it disturbed the devotees in their prayers. Sometimes even during the interval between the prayers they did not allow Hindus to play music before mosques because some persons spent their whole

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1. Quoted by Tarachand in History of Freedom Movement, p. 372.

time in saying prayers. They regarded music and songs as things of amusement so they protested it. The Hindus on the other hand considered it to be their right to play music and argued that in the past, processions accompanied by music always passed by mosques at all hours without any objection from the Muslims. They ruled out the Muslim argument as it caused intolerable hardship to them. Their religious and social customs required these processions to pass through public streets with music".<sup>1</sup>

Since beginning of Arya Samaj upto present day the cow-protection was the matter of communal disturbance between Hindu and Muslim. In October 1916 two serious Hindu-Muslim disturbances occurred in the Patna District on the occasion of Idal-adha. Trouble had been anticipated owing to the attitude of the Hindus and precautionary measures had been taken, but in one village a mob of some 7,000 to 10,000 Hindus endeavoured to prevent the performance of the sacrifice in spite of the presence of the

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1. Y.B. Mathur: Growth of Muslim Politics in India, p.62, Pragati Publication, New Delhi, 1979.  
From Home Political F.No. 179 of 1926.

District Magistrate with Armed Police. The mob had to be fired on, and finally the Muslim refrained from performing the sacrifice owing to their fear of the Hindus and the weakness and unreliability of the Police force ~~was~~ present on the spot.<sup>1</sup>

In another village where careful precautions had been taken, a mob of 4,000 Hindus attempted to loot the village and kill the Muslims in spite of the presence of military Police under a European Inspector. This force finally had to fire on them and forced them to retire. These riots were due to deliberate Hindu aggression and were the fore runners of the serious Hindu-Muslim disturbance which broke out in 1918 in Sr habad and Gaya Districts where the predominant Hindus were determined to terrorise the Muslims and prevent them from performing the sacrifice. Large mobs of Hindus attacked the Muslims, looted their villages wholesale, taking away their cattle and damaging their mosques. They attacked the Muslims a second time in the most determined fashion but were beaten off with casualties by armed Police who had been drafted in. Subsequently, the

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1. See : Home Political A Proceeding Nos. 59-61 dated November 1916.

same trouble broke out in other places. Numerous villages were looted and Muslims, male and female were mal-treated and in some cases killed.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims "Pooh-Poohed"<sup>2</sup> the suggestion of Hindus to give up eating beef because that would constitute a flagrant encroachment on their religious rights. They argued that its prohibition would be a staggering blow to thousands of poor Muslims, because they would be unable to purchase mutton which was costlier than beef.<sup>3</sup>

"In self-defence, they always stressed that beef-eating was more widely prevalent among Europeans than the Muslims. One of the favourite arguments trotted out against cow-slaughter was that it was a great draw back to the agricultural development of the country. But there was no truth whatever in this contention, because the supply of bullocks for agricultural purposes never fell short of the demand."<sup>4</sup>

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1. See: Home Political A Proceeding No. nil dated 1918.
  2. See Palsa Akhbar, Lahore, date 26th January, 1911 and 22nd Feb. 1911.
  3. Quoted from : Home Political A Proceeding No. 198 of 1924.
  4. Quoted by Y. B. Mathur in *Growth of Muslim*, p. 61 Politics in India: From Palsa Akhbar, Lahore, dated 26 Jan. 1911.

It was argued that cow-slaughter was in a greater measure responsible for infant mortality but the expounders of this argument conveniently shut their eyes to the fact. Indians had enough of cows, besides numerous dairies, all of which supplied milk in abundant quantity for the nursing of children. It is no doubt true that Hindus regarded the cow as the halo of sanctity but it was extremely ridiculous to ask the Muslims to treat her with reverence.

Thus the activities of Arya Samaj created a new fear to the Muslims. They made suspicion to the Muslims. By these activities the Muslim became hopeless and fearful of the Hindu communal activities. Now they found themselves unsafe in their languages, religions and all other social activities. The teachings of Arya Samaj through Gurukula education system poisoned the young Hindu minds and enforced them to keep away the Muslim community. Through cow-protection movements, the Muslims were blamed for riots and a large number of Muslims were suppressed by the Hindus as well as the British. The Muslims were forced to be communal, because the rift was created by the Arya Samaj.

### GANAPATI FESTIVAL

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin of Maharashtra, and a supporter of Hindu revivalism and a congress leader, especially during the provincial period of his career, started the Ganapati festival in 1893, in Maharashtra. After some time in 1896, he started another Hindu festival 'Shivaji Festival', why did he start these festivals? Let us, see:

"In the Presidency of Bombay, not only did the Hindu and Muslims live in perfect harmony, but the former enthusiastically took part in the annual Muslim festival of Moharram. Hindu rubbed shoulders with Muslims in the Moharram procession in which tabuts, or decorative structures representing the tombs of the martyrs at Kerbala, were carried for immersion in the river. But in 1893, a patch of dark cloud appeared on the serene sky of Bombay. There was bitter communal rioting in which many lives were ere lost, and many more sustained serious injuries."<sup>1</sup>

This development gave rise to the revival of old religious festivals under the leadership of Tilak,

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1. Ram Gopal : Lokmaniya Tilak.  
Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1950,  
p. 82.

A brief account of communal politics in northern India may be given here so that Tilak's activities, like the Public celebration of Ganapati and Shivaji festivals, may be understood in their proper perspective.

The brief had gone out of the Wahabi movement, which had organised Muslims to a man to abstain from co-operating with the British and to end the British rule, and the British rulers too had realised that the best policy to deal with the Mohammedans was to reconcile them to the British rule rather than antagonise them, a significant change came over the Muslims in India. Formerly, every Muslim was looked upon as a rebel and had no access to Government service.

The British always used the policy of 'divide and rule'. When Hindus and Muslims were united on the congress platform in making their demands, this added to the headache of the British. The first discordant note of course, welcome to the British, came from the Aligarh Muslim College, from the mouth of its Principal, named Theodore Beck. "The Parliamentary system in India", Beck said, "is most unsuited and the experiment would prove futile if representative institution is introduced

The Muslims will be under the majority opinion of the Hindus, a thing which will be highly resented by Muslims, and I am sure, they will not accept quietly".<sup>1</sup>

Beck was hailed as a great well-wisher of Muslims, and his ideas found an echo in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself. In 1889, when Charles Bradlaugh took up in Parliament the question of introducing reforms in the Indian administration, Beck at once started mobilising Muslim public opinion against Bradlaugh's projected measure. At the same time some Hindus in the north had started an anti-cow slaughter agitation. He wrote it in an English journal: "The past few years have witnessed the growth of two agitations in this country: one, the Indian National Congress; the other, the movement against cow-slaughter. The former is directed against the English, the latter against the Muslims. The object of the Congress is to transfer control of the country from the British to the Hindus.... Mussalman can have no sympathy with these demands. In order to stop cow-slaughter, the Hindus have gone to the extent of boy-cotting the Muslims.....The result is to be seen in the riots in many cities".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by Ram Gopal in : op. cit. p.83.

2. Quoted by Ram Gopal : op.cit. pp. 83-84.



The Bombay riots upset the communal equilibrium of Poona. Terror-stricken Hindus flocked to Tilak believed that Mohammadans took to rioting because they were instigated to do so by a third party, and he therefore advised Hindus not to be inimical to Muslims. M.A. Jinnah the great leader of the Muslim community, reached almost the same conclusion. In his evidence before the Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament to examine the Govt. of India Reforms Bill 1919, he said referring to communal riots:

"If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because the Police have taken one side or the other".<sup>1</sup>

The riots had come and gone. But these had left the bitterness between two communities. For many many years the Hindus had participated in Moharram festivals with great zeal. But now the Hindus stopped taking interest in the Tabut procession, and were now left without a public annual festival. In such a circumstances Tilak started the Ganapati Festival as a means,

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1. Quoted by Ram Gopal: Op.cit. p.87.

first of consolidating the scattered ranks of the Hindu community and secondly of arousing in them the spirit of Hinduism.

The first of the modern public Ganapati festivals began in Poona. This galatzen-day celebration commemorating the birth of the Deccan's most popular deity, the elephant headed Ganeshor Ganapati ("leader of the Ganas") that is, attendants upon Shivaji had originally been held as a family festival by the Peshwas, and since their collapse had fallen into the comparative oblivion of individual worship by less exalted householders.

The Ganapati festival was a purely private religious function, the most important and best attended public festival, of western India.

"Held in September, shortly after the Moharram, Hindus now marched with their communal cohorts behind giant images of the God, instead of joining the procession of the Muslim who carried the Tabuts (colourfully decorated images of the Kerbela tombs Mohammad's martyred grand sons ) to the river for their immersion. Instead of playing music for Muslims, Hindu musicians

were given more more and better pay in the service of Lord Shiva's son. Ironically, Tilak predicted that the Ganpati festival will more or less aid in society's current tendency to function more harmoniously."<sup>1</sup>

By society, Tilak meant, Hindu society alone. In sponsoring the Ganpati festival, he was in fact furthering his ambition of providing an institutional frame-work through which to channel regularly the mass of orthodox opinion heretofore awakened only intermittently.<sup>2</sup> Through this festival Tilak wanted to unite only Hindu society, as he stated :

"The Hindus of all sects worship Ganapati, and if the ceremony of conducting the god to the water places became public, it would be a recreation without trouble and would help achieve harmony amongst various sections of the Hindu community".<sup>3</sup>

Music bands and processions were considered by some serious minded people as superficial and as unbecoming a religious festival. To them Tilak said,

1. 1. Stanley A. Walpert : Tilak, Gokhale. Oxford, 1989, pp. 67-68.

2. Ibid, p.68.

3. From 'Keshari' Newspaper by Tilak 26 Sept. 1893.

"Religious thought and devotion may be possible even in solitude, yet demonstration and eclat are essential to the awakening of the masses".

Through this festival Tilak inspired Hindu community in spirit of Hinduism and a new feeling of Hindu revivalism and filled a new energy to unite the Hindu community.

There may be difference of opinion about the time Tilak chose for starting the Ganapati festival, but the immense political and social good that resulted from the festival can not be denied when the whole affair is history of in cold brint. Accordingly to Ram Gopal:

"Hindus were divided into numerous castes and sub-castes. The Ganapati festival brought them together, and they began to feel that they were component parts of one whole the Hindu community. The rational mind of Tilak saw no objection in only efforts which led to the consummation of this result, there was absolutely nothing in it, even if it was an imitation of tabut, which should offend the Muslims".<sup>1</sup>

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1. See. Keshari (Newspaper ) by Tilak, 7th Oct. 1894.

Seeing the unity of Hindu community through the movement, the Muslim began to aloof from the Hindus, because now the politics was not a purely politics but it was mixed with religion. It was only Tilak who mixed the religion in politics. Shortly after the 1894 riot, Tilak accelerated his campaign against the prohibition of music in the neighbourhood of mosques. He succeeded in getting that organisation to submit a memorial to Government advocating that :

"If certain classes object to street processions passing by their public places of worship with music while they are engaged in worship, this feeling should be respected not by forbidding all music at all times while passing those places, but by stopping all loud and noisy music, likely to disturb worship during the prescribed hours of worship".<sup>1</sup>

Inspite of all the efforts of the British Government and the Hindu-Muslim leaders, communal differences by playing music before the mosques could not be stopped.

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1. See: Keshari (Newspaper) by Tilak, 7th Oct. 1894.

### SHIVAJI FESTIVAL

Having successfully launched the Ganapati festival, which was mainly directed to revive the religious enthusiasm of the Hindu community, Tilak turned his attention to organising the enthusiasm of the people in religious matters. He started Shivaji festival in 1896. He found in Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Empire, a hero who was revered and worshipped all over Maharashtra. So he decided to organise an annual festival round the personality of Shivaji.

The initial step to organise this festival was encouraged by an English man. In his historical travelogue, A Book of Bombay, published in 1883, James Douglas remarked, "No man now cares for Shivaji, over all those wide domains, which once owned him Lord and Master, acquired by so much blood and treasure, not one man now contributes a rupee to keep or repair the tomb of the founder of the Maharatta Empire".<sup>1</sup>

For this purpose a public meeting was held in Poona on April 23, 1895, with the announced intention of collecting funds. A Committee of fifty was organised. On

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the eve of the first great Shivaji festival to be celebrated simultaneously at Rajgarh, the mountain top fortress in Kolaba District where Shivaji had been coronated Chhatrapati (Hindu Lord of the Universe) in 1674 and where he died in 1680.

The integral political and religious motivation of this festival was made explicit from its inception. Its inauguration in 1896 marked the maturing and increased self confidence of Tilak's new party. His national aspirations were confined to the region of Maharashtra, which he longed to see restored to the Swaraj (Self rule ) of a Hindu State. He was only cater to expand this goal to the whole of India.

According to him hero worship was at the root of nationality, social order and religion. The Shivaji festival in reviving hero worship built the foundation on which those essential pre-requisites for the common weal could be firmly established.

So much concentration of public mind on Shivaji in Maharashtra and elsewhere in India, gave rise to a historical controversy "did Shivaji commit an act of treachry

in killing Afzal Khan in 1659 with cunning act?

When Afzal Khan came to Shivaji to discuss the points of surrender, Shivaji approached the Muslim in his plain cloth shirt, but under it he wore a vest of mail, and concealed it, his right sleeve was a scorpion shaped dagger, while the finger tips of his left hand were sheathed with metal tiger claws. The embrace with which he greeted Afzal evoked the death pang out cry from the Muslim. This served as a signal for activating the carefully concealed Maratha forces waiting in ambush at either side of the road. Afzal's attendants were quickly cut down, and the leaderless army waiting below was easily dispersed. Bizapur (Afzal) never recovered from then and Maratha power was firmly established. Such in essence was the incident for which Shivaji has been alternately denounced for treachry and admired for bravery.<sup>1</sup>

To try to determine whether Afzal or Shivaji struck first, Tilak wrote :

"Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. Shrimat Krishana, preached in the Gita that we have a right even to kill our own Guru and our

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1. See: S. A. Wolpert. pp. 85-86.



kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if, he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruit of his deeds..... If thieves enter our house and we have not strength enough in our fists to drive them out , we should without hesitation lock them up and burn them alive. God has not conferred upon the foreigners the grant inscribed on a copper plate to the kingdom of Hindustan".<sup>1</sup>

Through the processions of Shivaji festival, Tilak defamed the Muslims as foreigners and accused them of weakening the Hindu religion. He encouraged the Hindu masses to hate the Muslims as they were the enemy of the Hindus. He also told the Hindu masses that the Muslims were the real assaulters of the Hindu community, they had broken the Hindu temples and looted their property, converted them into Muslim fold. He talked and preached anti-Muslim feelings in the meetings.

The Muslim masses resented Tilak's activities and so they began to condemn Tilak as a communal leader. Any way it was obvious to Muslims that they should not rely upon Hindus. Ganapati festival and the celebration of

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1. Quoted by S.A. Walpert, pp. 86-87.

the Shivaji anniversary were bound to create apprehensions in the mind of the minority community.

Sir Valenine Chrol, author of 'Indian Unrest' said in his book "He (Tilak) not only convoked popular meetings in which his fiery eloquence denounced Mohammedans as the sworn foes of Hindus, but he started an organisation known as the "Anti-Cow-Killing" Society the Gana Pati, and Shivaji festivals, which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mohammedans".<sup>1</sup>

The Govt. of India's own legal adviser, an English man named Montgomerie later, in a confidential note vindicated Tilak of the charge of communalism.

"Tilak had nothing to do with the inception of the anti-cow-killing movement nor is there any evidence to show that either before or after the Hindu-Mohammedan riots of 1893, he took any part in the management of the Anti-cow killing society or in furthering its aim.....".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by Ram Gopal in Indian Muslims, p.89.

2. Quoted by Ram Copal in Indian Mussalman, p.89.

3. See: Maharatta (Newspaper) 24 June 1906.

It is alleged that in the year 1901 along with his two trusted colleagues, Vasukaka and K.P. Khadilkar, Tilak made a plan to go to Nepal as devotees of Lord Shiva with a view to induce the Maharaja of Nepal to invade India so that Hindu Raj could be established in India. But the plan, it is said, failed because the plague spread and the borders of Nepal sealed.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes Tilak denied the unity and tried to divide the two communities through his Ganapati and Shivaji festival, but later he tried also to unite them. "In 1916 in Congress -League combined session at Lucknow, he declared that he would be ready to achieve swaraj even if the Raj was given by the British to the Muslims in India."<sup>2</sup>

The Lucknow pact of 1916 between the Hindus and the Muslims was largely the result of the efforts of Tilak. In speaking on the resolution on self-government he said in regard to the pact :

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1. See: Maharatta (Newspaper) 24 June 1906.

2. Quoted by : Mohd. Shabbir Khan in Tilak and Gokhale. from Tilak's speech on Swaraj, Belgaum, May 1916.

"It has been said by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brothers, I am sure, I express the feelings of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded to much, I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only, when we have a fight against a third party west and on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of practical creed. That is the most important event of the day".<sup>1</sup>

In this point of view M.A. Jinnah opined :

"Mr. Tilak was a shrewd practical politician.....(He) rendered yeoman services to the country and played a very important part in bringing about the Hindu-Muslim".

Tilak was the first political and religious Hindu leader who utilized the medium of religion for political propaganda, and in the first few decades of the twentieth century, it became the common medium of revolutionary leaders and organisations.

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1. Ibid.

### URDU NAGRI CONTROVERSY

The principal issue that came to this surface after cow-protection was Urdu-Devanagri controversy, as Sumit Sarkar writes :

"The demand for the use of the Devanagri script first made by some Benaras Hindus in 1868 and granted by Lt. Governor. Macdonnell in 1900 was connected with the tension between old and new elites of U.P."<sup>1</sup>

In the development of Hindi and Urdu, Hindus and Muslims had worked shoulder to shoulder in the past. There had been great Hindu authors in Urdu. But this controversy took a firm as if Urdu were to exclusive patrimony of the Muslims and Hindi that of the Hindus and it was carried on with great bitterness. Behind all this bitter controversy was the hand of Sir Antony Macdonnell. His Govt. passed an order authorizing the use of Nagri for certain specific purposes in courts and public offices. It was an innocuous order. In fact, a knowledge of both the Urdu and Hindi is essential for establishing a cultural link between the two communities.

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1. Sumit Sarkar : Modern India, 1885-1947, p.233  
New Delhi, 1983.

But under the policy of 'Divide and Rule' the British officers became interested to use Hindi as a court language and they tried to make efforts for its development. They wrote its grammars and encouraged the Hindi writers. S.C. Baily advised the Govt. that "Hindi could be and should be gradually introduced into the courts and offices" because "Persian characters can be altered with much greater facility than Nagri, and hence it offers greater temptation to fraudulent tampering with documents."<sup>1</sup>

For the Hindus, Hindi was a language purged of all the Arabic-Persian accretions<sup>+</sup> which served to remind them of the Muslim supremacy while the Nagri script had a religious significance as the character which Brahmin used and in which Sanskrit was written. For the Muslims, on the other hand, Hindi was gandi (dirty) and they thought it most degrading to learn it.<sup>2</sup>

But there were two events, to take this matter in favour of Hindi. The first was the appointment of Shiv Prasad as Joint Inspector of the Benaras Circle in 1854.

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1. Quoted by Tarachand: Op. cit. p. 372.

2. See: Separatism among Indian Muslims by Francis Robinson: Delhi 1975.

Shiv Prasad's aim was to encourage people to write a depersianised Urdu in the Nagri script.

The second event was the appointment in 1862 ), Inspector of the Agra Circle 1862-78, director of Public Instruction, a post which he held till his retirement in 1878. Kemson saw eye to eye with Shiv Prasad, and made much of him. He also believed that Hindi was the vernacular to encourage to be encouraged and did his best to promote it.

In 1872 Hindi was made the court language nine districts in the Central Provinces (M.P.) instead of Urdu and increased communal tension. It had a marked effect on Muslim politics making the educated Muslims, already suspicious of the rising Hindu leadership, more apprehensive of the future.<sup>1</sup> The feelings of the Hindi Urdu controversy has been emphasised by Mahmud Husain:

"The Hindi-Urdu controversy arose in 1883, with an innocent looking suggestion that the character of the court language should be changed from Persian to Devanagari: the replacement of Urdu by Hindi was not specifically mentioned, but the intention was obvious, and the entire Muslim official

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1. Y.B. Mathur : Op.cit. p.74.

world arrayed itself against the proposal. The public platform and newspapers were invoked by the protagonists of the two languages, and agitation seemed to draw a demarcation line between educated Hindus and Muslims".<sup>1</sup>

The U.P. was the cultural centre of Islamic India. From this centre radiated currents of agitation which shook the whole country from end to end and brought about a great Muslim upheaval. In August 1900, representative Muslims from various provinces met together in a big conference to ponder over the fate of their injured community. The Muslim leaders decided to form a permanent All India Muslim organisation to watch the political interests of the community. The task of completing the details was left to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, who was appointed as its Secretary.<sup>2</sup>

In his own monthly journal, 'Asr-i-Jadid' or 'Modern Voice' founded in 1903, Ghulam-us-Saqlain gave the following reasons for political organisation:

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1. A History of Freedom movement, p.41 (ed) Mahmud Husain: Renaissance Publishing House, New Delhi, 1960.
  2. See : Hindu-Muslim Problems. p. 198.



"Intelligent Musalmans will readily admit the necessity for the establishment of a Muhammadan Political Association. Owing to the want of such an association the interests of the Mohammadan community have already suffered in a variety of ways and are still being trampled under foot; some of the instances being the Hindi-Urdu controversy, the exclusion of Persian from the Allahabad University and the paucity of Musalman members in the Municipal and Local Boards"<sup>1</sup>.

Due to Urdu-Nagri controversy, the Muslims began to suspect to the Hindus and began to live aloof from them because by using Hindi the Muslims resented much as their sacred language Urdu was banded in offices which was used since many centuries.

#### RISE OF THE HINDU COMMUNALISM

The Hindu Mahasabha is the result of several attempts to bring together the whole of the Hindus in a single all India organization. A national conference was

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1. Quoted by Francis Rabinson : op. cit. p.138 from Asfi-Jadid (Meerut) May, 1903.

held at Delhi in 1900 under the Presidency of the Darbhanga, and was attended by nearly a hundred thousand people. In 1903 the various local organisations were united under the 'Bharat Dharma Mahamandala', formed at Mathura. It was registered and a constitution was drawn up. In 1905 the head quarters of the Association were removed to Benaras. Its objects was: "to promote Hindu religious education in accordance with the Sanatana Dharma, to diffuse the knowledge of the Vedas, Smirits, Puranas and other Hindu Sastras, and to introduce, in the light of such knowledge, useful reforms into Hindu life and society".<sup>1</sup>

The Mandala published an Anglo-Hindu monthly and several provincial magazines in the vernacular. It flourished under the guidance of Swami Jnananda, who retired in 1910. Even during the short period of the Mahamandla was recognised by the heads of the Chief Hindu sects and religious orders as representative of the whole community. There came into being under the great organisation a number of provincial associations, and under these were some 600 local societies in towns and villages.

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1. Quoted by R.C. Majumdar : Struggle for Freedom p. 419.

The Orthodox character of the Association and its avowed object to maintain the 'Sanatana Dharma' secured for it the support of ruling princes religious pointiffs and also section of the common Hindus. The Maharaja of Darbhanga became its general President in 1912, and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya a prominent congress man was one of its prominent leaders. But the orthodox character of the Association provoked strong opposition and adverse comments from many educated Hindus, who regarded the movement as reactionary.

There were similar movements in the Punjab and a conference was held at Lahore in 1909, presided over by Sri Praful Chandra Chatterji. It was attended by eminent leaders like Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj. The President, in his address, observed that such conference of the Hindus would advance rather than retard (as some feared ) the national cause as it would help the growth of national sentiment. Lajpat Rai also remarked that before attempting Hindu-Muslim or all India unity the Hindus should try to unite themselves by reclaiming the depressed classes.

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Four more Hindu conferences were held during the year 1911 to 1914 respectively, at Amritsar, Delhi, Firozpur and Ambala. While a special one was held at Lahore in 1914, all these were suppressed by an All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

In 1912 Sir Shadi Lal while inauourating the third Punjab Hindu Conference at Delhi observed :

"The events of the past four or five years proved beyond the shadow of doubt that with a body which could speak with the authority of the entire Hindu community behind its back and resist the aggressive action of the Muslim League, the Hindus would not have been plight in which they find themselves at present".<sup>1</sup>

Henceforth an annual session of the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha took place at Hardwar and its head quarter was located there. It received a great impetus from the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and the new reforms under the Act of 1919, both of which were regarded by a large body of the Hindus outside the Congress as a curtailment of the just rights and interest of the Hindus.

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1. See: R.C. Majumdar ; Op. cit.

Thus the Hindu Mahasabha (founded in 1919) which had been lying dormant for a number of years started making efforts to fortify its position in the country order to check the demands of the League. Its main objects were "the maintenance, protection and promotion of Hindu race, Hindu culture, and Hindu civilization, for the advancement of Hindu Rashtra".<sup>1</sup>

The first important session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Banaras in 1923 under the Presidentship of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, a prominent member of working Committee of the Congress. Later V.D. Savarkar became the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. He strictly opposed the demand of Muslim League for the partition of India.

The origin and development of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1900 to 1916 intensified the fear in the Muslim mind for their future. The leaders of this communal organisation from the very beginning were dreaming for a Hindu Rashtra to be established in this country. Their problem was accentuated and they were caught between devil and deep sea. The Hindu Mahasabha added another problem to the already

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1. Quoted by P.L. Sharma in Hindu-Muslim Relations in all India Politics, 1913-1925 (Delhi 1987) from V.D. Savarkar papers (3).

accumulated problems created by the British Raj and their policies. The Muslims, on the one hand were suppressed by the British and on the other the Hindu Mahasabha whose, leaders were often seen as prominent members of the Congress, created doubts in their minds about the Congress itself. The same leader like Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, who was advocating Hindu nationalism was seen on the Congress platform speaking different languages at the two stages. Meanwhile a great Arya-samajist leader of the Hindu Mahasabha Swami Shraddhanand started 'Suddhi Movement' in 1922 for the conversion of Muslim to Hindu fold. This movement was accompanied by the 'Sangathan Movement' which was launched in order to bring about the union of the Hindus and organise them for self-defence.

#### THE SUDDHI MOVEMENT

Literally 'Suddhi' mean purification, but when by Aryasamajists also include reclamation and conversion. The Aryasamaj, being a Vedic church, and as such a Hindu organisation engaged itself in reclaiming the wandering sheep who have strayed from the Hindu fold, and converts any one

prepared to accept its. religious teachings. Swami Shraddhanand, the founder of this movement said, "Early in January 1923, a Hindu weekly gave the simple news that four and a half lakhs of Muhammadan Rajputs had applied for reconversion into Hinduism and that the Mahasabha had granted their applications. Muslims opposed it. The name of the new organisation was proposed by me. I, therefore concluded that some sort of Prayashcitt ceremony would have to be performed. Hence the name I proposed i.e. the Bhartiya Hindu Suddhi Sabha was agreed constituted of which I was elected the President".<sup>1</sup>

The first objective was to make the Bhartiya Hindu Suddhi Sabha a living body, to collect lakhs of rupees for pushing on work in all directions and to induce selfless men of pure intents to go about persuading Hindus to take back to their bosom their strayed brethren".<sup>2</sup>

The efforts made by Aryasamaj for reconversion, the Census Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh remarked :

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1. Swami Shraddhanand Sanyasi; Hindu Sangathan, Saviour of the dying race. World book Centre, Delhi, 1926, p.124.

2. Ibid. pp. 130.

"Special efforts are directed to reconversion of converts from Hinduism to Christianity or Islam, while persons who are Christian or Mohammadan by birth are also occasionally converted!"<sup>1</sup>

Lajpat Rai again said,

".....of such Mohammedan converts I have myself known at least one case, and others have occurred. There is a society affiliated to the Arya Samaj which is known as the Rajputs Shuddhi Sabha, which has its chief object the reconversion of Mohammedan Rajputs to Hinduism via the Arya Samaj. On a single day 370 such Rajputs were converted to Aryaism. In three years, between 1907 and 1910, this society claimed to have converted 1052 Mussalman Rajputs".<sup>2</sup> The Suddhi movement made a good progress during the year 1899. The reports received from some of the towns. Sita Ram Singh stated:

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1. Lajpat Rai: History of the Aryasamaj, p.120

2. From : Census Report for U.P. for 1911, p. 134.



"The Conference (of 1899) recommended this subject to the favourable attention of the Association in other Provinces, as such admission could not fail to promote the cause of sincerity in matters of religious faith in other respects create social fellow- feeling every where. Both Christian and Mohammadan converts were admitted into the Arya Samaj and in some cases into the Brahmin and the Sikh Community. The number of such admissions was 25 or 30."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Rajendra Prasad observes in his 'India Divided', "The Suddhi movement of Swami Shraddhanand had come in for a great deal of criticism both from the nationalists and Mohammadans".<sup>2</sup>

Let us also describe the term 'Sangathan' which was a close part of Shuddhi movement.

The idea of organising the Hindus for communal purposes, first arose in the Punjab. The Punjab Muhammadans being dissatisfied with Sir Syed Ahmad's policy

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1. Sita Ram Singh: Nationalism and Social Reform in India, p.290.

2. Quoted by Ram Copal : Op.cit. pp. 160-61.

of eschewing all politics, laid the foundation of a 'Muslim League' in order to organise their coreligionists politically. The Hindus followed suit and the Punjab Hindu Sabha was the result. For full four years it remained confined within the four walls of the Punjab but in its fifth session held at Ambala on 7th and 8th December, the following memorable resolution was passed :

"The conference is strongly of opinion that in order to deliberate upon measures for safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community throughout India and elsewhere it is highly desirable that a general conference of the Hindus of India be held at Hardwar on the occasion of the Kumbh in 1915".<sup>1</sup>

The first real conference, consisting of some 1500 delegates from all parts of the country, was held at Benaras in August 1923. The Mahasabha was pledged to neutrality as regards the different sects of the Hindu community. It now proclaimed the same policy of non-interference with regard to the several political parties and personal convictions of individuals. A number of resolutions dealing with different

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1. Shradhanand Sanyasi : Op. Cit. p.107.

remedies for different needs of the Hindu community were passed which were afterwards amplified in subsequent meetings and conferences.<sup>1</sup>

In order to check the further downfall of the Hindu community and to restore its ancient status in the world, the following remedies had been suggested and approved by this Sangathan:

"The first evil, which is also very prominent, has been the conversion of Hindus to other religions. After centuries of morbid sleep the Hindus rose to a sense of self-consciousness in this respect, as was well described by me, in March 1923. A new Sabha has been organised under the name of 'Bhartiya Hindu Sudhi Sabha' with the object of reclaiming those who are willing to come to its fold".<sup>2</sup>

"The Malkanas were taken back to the Hindu fold by their Hindu brethren in the presence of thousand guests from outside, who all partook of food prepared and distributed by the new comers."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See: Shradhanand Sanyasi : Op.cit. pp.119-20.

2. Ibid p.129.

3. Ibid p.129.

"The Hindu Sabha has also resolved that those non-Hindus who have faith in Hindu Samskars and Hindu Dharma should be taken within the fold of Hindu Dharma,"<sup>1</sup>

Such types of atmosphere gave birth to bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims. The communal riots was the tendency of each of the communities to organise themselves "to guard themselves", so to say in preparation for future eventualities. "The Suddhi", and "Sangathan movement of the Hindus was answered by the Tanzim and Tabligh movement of the Muslims, each aimed at the consolidation of their communities and increasing its numbers by conversion or Suddhi. These movements started in 1923. They had their origin in communal bitterness and separate electorates of the Act 1919, with the prospect of the transference of political power which the August declaration of 1917 and the Act of 1919 promised, each community endeavoured to secure most for itself and as the share of each was to be in proportion of their numbers, it was natural that each should attempt to increase and consolidate itself.

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1. Ibid p. 129.

The Muslim hostility to the Suddhi and Sangathan movement, though unreasonable was understandable. They feared that if the movement succeeded in reconverting all the Hindus from Islam back to Hinduism their position would become precarious and their numbers would be further reduced. So the Muslims started the Tanzim and Tabligh movement which aimed at increasing conversion, preventing depletion of their numbers by re-conversion and consolidating the Mussalmans as against the Hindus by infusing in them a new zeal for Islam.<sup>1</sup>

The result of the Suddhi and the Tanzim movements was the organisation of both the communities into rival religious camps. As a result this communal bitterness took place into communal riots.

The purpose for the uniting the Muslim a Bengal Muslim conference was convened by a Muslim Minister in Bengal, on May 2, 1925. He warned his audience that as India was advancing towards self-Government, more

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1. See: Hindu-Muslim Problem, p.184.

powers would be monopolised by Hindus, and called upon his coreligionists to organise themselves in good time to start an association on the lines of the Hindu Mahasabha and to cover the whole of Bengal with a net work of branches. He asked Muslims to be united and be trained in physical culture .

The President of the 1925 session of the Muslim League (Aligarh) Sir Abdur Rahim, made a communal speech which caused no small amount of excitement in the country. Sir Abdur Rahim said that the 'League was now more necessary to Muslims than every because of Hindu attacks on their community. Hindu had by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever that Muslims could not entrust their fate to them and must had even spoken of driving Muslims out of India as spaniards had expelled the Moors.<sup>1</sup>

The Hindus naturally resented the attitudes of the Muslims towards Sudhhi movement, and felt themselves perfectly justified in converting or

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1. Quoted by Ramgopal : Op. Cit. p. 167.

or reconverting others to their own faith, a right which the Muslims and Christians had exercised all along and which alone accounted for their number in India. There was no doubt that the whole Muslim community was highly excited. Communal riots, hatred and the bitterness was the main production of these movements in the hearts of Hindus and Muslims. There were really due to the revival of mutual suspicion and distrust which have generally characterised the relation between these two communities except during rare intervals.

Among the Hindus communal organisations the R.S.S. (Rashtriya Svayam Sevak) was the most important organisation. It was established in 1925 at Nagpur. The R.S.S. aimed at the establishment of the Hindu Rashtra and its membership was confined to the Hindus only. The conception of Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan, Hindu-raj, Hindu culture, Hindu religion, glorification of Hindu-race and conversion of religious minorities into the Hindu way of life made the R.S.S. a communal organisation, an organisation which preached hatred against the minorities.

M. S. Galwalkar, who remained the supreme commander of the R. S. S. for about 30 years stated that "non-Hindus" could stay in India as 'guests' and "wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing deserving no privileges, for less any preferential treatment nor even citizen's right". He again said that "non-Hindus were not the children of this soil".<sup>1</sup>

The R. S. S. regarded the Muslims and Christians as internal threats to India. The morale of the biography of the R. S. S. leader was that it greed Hindu fundamentalism and could escape the 'stigma' of being doubled as communal .

The R. S. S. was not the only communal and the militant organisation which advocated Hindu fundamentals and religious facticism among Hindus, there were large number of such militant organisation and it was a complete web spread throughout India".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See : Communal problem in India- A symposium,  
Ed. by Dr. Ramji Lal, Delhi 1988, pp. 11-12.



Having gone through the above movements, it was clear to be division between Hindu and Muslim. Each tried to its best to revise and strengthen the religious movements. Hindu accused to the Muslims for communal riots and communal disharmony. While the Muslims accused to the Hindus for this work being suppressed by Hindus and the British, the Muslims found unsafe to themselves and so they demanded their political, religious, and language facilities. They also demanded, the reservation of seats in jobs as well as in modern education. They tried to unite their community so that they could face to the majority.

Like Hindu Movements, the Muslim Movements, and orthodox Muslim leader were also prominent during the 19th century. Aligarh Movement was one of these Movements.

#### ALIGARH MOVEMENT

It is impossible to deal with the new reformation in India without referring to the great Aligarh Movement led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was born on 17th October, 1817 at Delhi

in a reputed family of considerable fame. He was a descendent of Hazarat Hussain, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad in the 36th generation. His father Syed Muhammad Muttaqi was a man of retiring disposition who exercised considerable influence at the Mughal Court. His mother, Aziz-un-Nisha Begum, was a lady of keen intelligence and Sagacity.

Sir Syed served many years under the British Government. He produced several significant literary works of his time. He also wrote a few pamphlets 'Loyal Mohammadans of India' and 'The causes of India Revolt'. In 1870, he started a Social Magazine, called 'Tahzib-ul Akhlaq'. On 26th December 1870, he founded a society for the Educational progress of Indian Muslim at Benaras. It was the Society which later on became the founder of the Mohammadan Anglo-oriental college at Aligarh. Later on this college developed into the Aligarh Muslim University in Sept. 1920.

Liberal Social reform and cultural Movement founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is known as the Aligarh Movement

because it was at Aligarh that the Mohammadan Anglo-oriental college was established. The Aligarh Movement aimed at spreading the English education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam. Another task was to introduce social reform in the Muslim society. The Aligarh Movement aimed at evolving a distinct social and cultural community among the Muslims more or less on Modern lines.

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan reached the prime of his life, a calamity befell the community which appeared to spell its doom. The event of 1857 and the following years spread ruin and disaster around. A great many of the measures of the prosperous upper class were destroyed, and the entire community became object of hatred and suspicion to the rulers. The British suspected the Muslims as their bitter foes. Their weakness became a source of exploitation by the British. They were tortured in each aspect of life and their social status, thus, declined.

The main motto of Sir Syed was to spread his message to the Muslims of India to take to modern education.

F.G.I. Graham wrote :

"Syed Ahmad Khan's motto was educate, educate, All the socio-political ills of India, he once said to me may be cured by this treatment, cure the root, the free will flourish".<sup>1</sup>

Sir Syed tackled all the Muslims problems by winning the hearts of rulers. Their policy of suppression changed into support of the Muslims and by changing the attitude of the Muslim community from resistance to cooperation with the British Government. He wanted to erase the impression from the British mind that the 'mutiny' was a revolt of the Muslims to overthrow the Aligarh rule with this purpose in view, he wrote the books' Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind in 1858 and 'The Loyal Mohammadans of India in 1860. In his Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind, he denied that the mutiny was a preplanned conspiracy of the Muslims against the British.

He said :

"The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there , now breaking out in this place now in that, is alone good proof that there existed no widespread conspiracy".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted From: Life of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan by F.G.I. Graham.

2. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan "Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind. Tr. by Sir Auckland Colvin and Col. Graham in 1873 (Republished by the Aligarh Muslim University, p.41.

He further said :

"There are, again, no ground for supposing that the Mohammadans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English government does not interfere with the Mohammedans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of religious crusade should have been entertained".<sup>1</sup> His main aim in writing this book exonerate Muslims from the charge of rebellion against the British.

The Loyal Mohammadans of India was published in 1860. In his book Sir Syed emphasised the fact that the Muslims were the most loyal of the British subjects. He mentioned the names of some 14 leading Muslim gentlemen who remained loyal to the Government during the course of 1857. He rebutted the charge that the Muslims by the very tenets of Islam were hostile to the religion of Jesus; that Jihad or holy war, according to Muslim Law, was enjoined against the British Govt. and that killing women, children and old men was in conformity to the Islamic faith?

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1. Sir Syed : Op.cit. p.12.

Thus Syed Ahmad Khan tried to prove that Islam was not opposed to christianity . Rather to tried to prove that members of the two faiths had good relations with each other in the past.

In this way he tried to bridge the gulf which separated the Muslims from their Christian rulers. He, therefore, abstained from attacking the christians, on the other hand, he laid emphasis upon their common points and recalled the services which Islam had rendered to christianity. He advised the Muslims to abandon their prejudice against the christians in regard to social relations, particularly so far as inter-dinning was concerned.

On the Question of Hindu-Muslim, he gave his statement and complained why he was not regarded as a Hindu? said:

"You have used the terms Hindu for yourselves. This is not correct, for in my opinion the word Hindu does not denote a particular religion, but on the contrary one who lives in India has the right to call himself a Hindu. I am, therefore, sorry that although I live in India, you do not consider me a Hindu".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Quoted by Tarachand : op.cit. p.358.

In a speech at Meerut on 16th March, 1888, he refers to the Hindus and Muslims not only as two nations, but as two warring nations who could not lead a common political life if ever the British left India. He gave the same impression in some other speeches also.

"Now suppose that all the English were to leave India, then who would be rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations, the Muhammadan and the Hindu, could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable".<sup>1</sup>

Further, as early as 1883, he delivered a long speech deprecating the system of representative institutions, even for local self-govt. and particularly the principle of election, pure and simple, in constituting local Boards and District Boards, for fear that, "The larger community would totally override the interest of the smaller community".<sup>2</sup>

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1. From :The British paramountcy and Indian Renaissance II p.309.

2. Ibid.

Syed Ahmad Khan and his followers, in their speeches and writings, were never tired of emphasising that India was inhabited by different nations with different social, political, religious and historical traditions. All these ideas were brought to a head in opposition to the Indian National Congress since its very inception. Syed Ahmad looked upon the System of representative Govt as demanded by the Congress as dangerous to the interests of Muslims. He even broad hinted that if the demand were conceded the Muslims minority might be forced to take up sword to prevent the tyranny of the majority. The following lines clearly indicate his trend of thought which also permeates his other speeches and writings :

"In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any one of these fields (nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, morals, culture, and historical traditions), the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in interfering with the peace and prosperity of the land..... The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon a ignorance of history and present day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities..... I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make



fraught with dangers and sufferings for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims . The Muslims are in a minority, but they are a highly united minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it will bring about disasters greater than the ones which came in the wake of the happenings of 1857..... The congress cannot rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions, ideals, and aspirations of the Muslims".<sup>1</sup>

What ever one might think of the early isolated utterances of Syed Ahmed in favour of the peoples of India forming but one nation, the two -nation theory formed the solid basis of the Aligarh Movement. Its political views and ideals, as they took definite shape, may be formulated in the following four fundamental principles :

- (a) The Hindus and Muslims form two separate political entities with separate outlook and conflicting interests.

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1. Quoted in : British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance II pp. 310-11.

b) The grant of representative institutions based on democratic principles, and appointment to high offices by open competitive examination in India would be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims, as they would be subject to Hindu domination which is far worse than British rule.

c) Consequently, the Muslims should regard the paramountcy of the British as the chief safeguard of their interests and keep themselves aloof from political agitation against the Government.

d) As the Muslim interests are quite safe in the hands of the British, the Muslims should confine their attention to cultural development, and avoid politics except in so far as it is necessary to counterbalance the mischief of Hindu political agitators.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Syed opposed the congress. But he cooperated the British government. He thought that the Muslims would gain more by cooperating with the British than by opposing them.

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1. Ibid p.311.

Sir Sayyed opposed competitive examinations, which were demanded by the Congress. He said that competitive examinations are suited to a country which is inhabited by one people. But "a country in which there are different nationalities which are on unequal footing as regards the competition", He further pointed out that the Mohammadans have not attained a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

He described the congress as a handiwork of the Bangalis and described in the most unbecoming language the Bangali character.

In his speeches Sir Sayed raised the question of high born and low born, Hindu and Mussalman, Bengali and non-Bengali, Pathans and Rajputs and above all that the people of India did not constitute one nation.

He described the congress as a 'Bengali organisation and said'" I do not think the Bangali politics useful for my brother Mussalmans. Our Hindu brothers of these provinces are leaving us and joining the Bengalis. Then we ought to unite with that nation with whom we can unite. No Mohammedan can say that the English are not "

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1. Quoted by A.M. Zaidi: Evolution of Muslim Political thought in India Vol.I New Delhi, 1975.

People of the Book", No Mohammadan can deny this ;  
that God has said that no people of other religions  
can be friends of Mohammadans except the christians."

Inspite of Sir Syed's opposition of congress,  
some Muslim leaders joined it. But Muslims largely rem-  
ained aloof from the congress. As M. Noman Says, " no  
Muslim since then joined the congress except one or two  
Even syed Ahmad Khan's Co-religionists who differed  
from his views on religions, educational and social  
matters and opposed him violently, followed him in  
politics and preserved their isolation from the congress".<sup>1</sup>

Surendra Nath Banarjee also admitted this  
fact. He wrote "the Muhammadan community  
under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad, had held  
themselves aloof from the congress".<sup>2</sup>

Gokhale remarked in one of his speeches that  
"Seventy millions of Mohammadans were more or less  
hostile to national aspirations".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Quoted by U.K. Saxena: op. cit. p.51  
See also : A.M. Zaidi op.cit. p 59.

2. M.Noman, Muslim India, Rise and growth of All India  
Muslim League. Allahabad 1942. p. 40 .

3. S.N. Banarjee : A nation in Making Oxford 1963, p.108

In this way Aligarh Movement's activities were against Hinduism. The Hindus wanted to be free from foreign rule and were struggling for it while the Muhammadans under the leadership of Syed Ahmad were loyal to the British Govt. Many great Hindu leaders opposed it in its beginning. Thus a stir arose between Hindus and Muslims throughout India. The Hindu Press attacked him bitterly. The Indian Mirror called him "a tool in the hands of our enemies.... who has covered himself with shame and disgrace".<sup>1</sup>

The national Guardian was positively rude in its comments : "If ever a man deliberately set about cutting his own throat that man is the old Muhammadan of seventy years. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh".<sup>2</sup>

It was a fact that Aligarh Movement was only for the good of the Muslims and they opposed the Hindus' programmes which became the main cause of disunity between Hindus and Muslims. It is also said that the

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1. The Indian Mirror. January 23, 1888.

2. Quoted by V.K. Saxena op. cit. p. 33.

seed of partition was sown during the Aligarh Movement. Since then the Hindus and Muslims were hostile with each other, on the question of unity.

### THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The All India Muslim League was established in the wake of the Muslim deputation to the vicerery. Most of the Muslim leaders of the Simla deputation particularly its leader, the Aga Khan were behind this move. The Aga Khan felt that the Muslims must recure an "independent political recognition from the British government as a nation within a nation".<sup>1</sup>

On November 9, 1906 Nawab Salimullah of Dacca issued a circular in which he suggested that an organisation to be known as All India Muslim Conference should be established and ultimately on 30th December, 1906 at DaCa, a conference was held . This conference was attended by the Muslim representatives and leaders from all over India. Nawab viqar-ul-mulk presided and the All

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1. Quoted by V.K Saxena : op. cit. p. 99 From The Memories of Aga Khan (London 1984) pp 75-76.

India Muslim League was established.<sup>1</sup>

The relevant text of Nawab Salimullah scheme which he circulated among the important Muslim leaders of the time were as follows :

"This day being the birth day of His majesty your most gracious kind Emperor, I think it auspicious for me today to place before my Mohammedan brethren my views on the project of our All-India Confederacy".<sup>2</sup>

The aims and objects of the Muslim League were:

- (a) "The promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of government with regard to any of its measures.
- (b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government.

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1. See : Rajendra Prasad : India Divided : Bombay 1946, p 1

2. The Bengali (Calcutta) IVth Dec. 1906 , Reproduced from A.M. Zaidi op. cit p.71.

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League".<sup>1</sup>

Thus the aims and the objects of the Muslim League were very clear. In the first place, it was to promote among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British government. Secondly, it was to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans, and thirdly, it was to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government.

Nawab Vaqar-ul-Mulk, one of its joint secretaries, said at a student's gathering at Aligarh :

"God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will lord it over; and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. The only way for the Muslims to escape this danger is to help in the continuance of the British rule, If the Muslims

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1. Quoted From : The Pioneer, Allahabad 2nd Jan. 1907  
Also see: Pirzada op. cit. p.6.



are heartily with the British, then that rule is bound to endure. Let the Muslims consider themselves as a British army ready to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives for the British crown".<sup>1</sup>

He continued :

"We are not to emulate the agitational politics of the congress. If we have any demand they must be submitted to government with due respect. But remember that it is your national duty to be loyal to the British rule-whenever you are, whether in the football field or in the tennis lawn, you have to consider yourselves as soliders of a British regiment you have to defend the British empire and to give the enemy a fight in doing so".<sup>2</sup>

The secretary of the League major Syed Hussain Bilgrami said :

"We are not opposed to the social unity of the Hindus and the Mussalmans.... But the other type of (Political) unity involves the working out of common political purposes. This sort of our unity with the Congress cannot be possible because we and the congressmen do not have common political objectives. They desire competitive

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1. Quoted from : Fuzail Ahmad, Musalman Ka Roshan Mustaqbil p 363.

2. Ibid pp. 363- 364.

examinations for employment in government services and this would mean the deprivation of Musalmans of government join . Therefore, we need not go near political unity (with the Hindus). It is the aim of the League to present Muslim demands through respectful requests before the government. They should not like congressmen, cry for boycott, deliver exciting speeches and write impertinent articles in newspapers and hold meetings to turn public feelings and attitude against their benign government".<sup>1</sup>

In the beginning the relation between the Muslim league and the congress were not cordial. The League had come into existence because of Muslim belief that they had separate political interests from the Hindus and the congress was a Hindu organization and could not be expected to look after the Muslim interests fairly and justly. This point had become clear to them over the issue of the partition of Bengal and the agitation that followed it. The Muslim League leaders had an obsession about Hindu numerical majority, about

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1. From : Aligarh Institute Gazette. 14th August 1907.

Congress demand for the introduction of the elective principle and the so-called 'Hindu Character' and the Shivaji Festival etc.). Syed Ali Imam the president of the Muslim league session of 1908 said",

"I ask the architects of Indian nationalism both in Calcutta and poona; do they expect the Mussalmans of India to accept Bande Matram and Shivaji celebration? The Mohammedan may be weak in anything.... but they are not weak in cherishing the radition of their glorious part".<sup>1</sup>

Thus the league was opposed to the congress ideology. The congress claimed to be a national organisation. It was open to all the communities of India. Its ideology was not directed to the protection of the special interests of any community. It aimed at the protection of the interests of the country as a whole and its entire people. The league on the other hand, was an organization of the Muslims only and protection of Muslim interests was its main ideology. The Muslim League thus opposed the Indian National Congress and its ideology. On the other hand Hindu leaders supported Indian National Congress and criticized those Muslims

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1. Quoted from : Speech of Syed Ali Imam President of the All India Muslim League session Amritsar 1908.

who were against it. Thus the gap between congress and Muslim League could not be bridged.

The congress and the Hindu Press did not like the establishment of a separate Muslim political party. While other papers as the Times of India, The Delhi Telegraph welcomed its formation.

"The Formation of the Muslim league was a significant fact. For once and all, it proved beyond any doubt that India was no longer one nation nor could it be welded into one, that the Hindus and Muslims were two phenomena of opposite drifts, and that there was no hope left for their ever unifying into a homogenous whole".<sup>1</sup> Writes Rajput.

Thus we find that some of the problems for Muslims were created by various extremists revivalist Hindu organisation and movements like Shuddhi, Sangathan, Cow protection and opposition of the Bengal's partition. The Muslims Separatist tendency and Sir Syed's opposition

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1. A.B. Rajput : Muslim League Yesterday and Today. (Lahore) 1948.

of the congress were direct consequence of the above mentioned movements and organizations. It was a fact that Muslims either by their numbers or by their education could neither compete nor get themselves elected to the legislative and the local bodies. Economically they were already suppressed and could not get employment because of British Prejudice against them. There was only one way left to them and that was to express their loyalty to the rulers and oppose any organization, working against the British Raj. Congress had also ignored their problems for long. Democratic principle of representation did not suit them as numerically they were in minority and also uneducated and politically unconscious. Sir Syed's advice, therefore, not to join the congress till the Muslim community get enough education and become politically Conscious of their rights in a representative system. They joined the congress under the leadership of Ali Brothers, in large numbers after 1916 when they became educated and politically conscious.

C H A P T E R - I I I

KHILAFAT OR PAN-ISLAMISM AND GANDHI'S  
LEADERSHIP OF THE MOVEMENT

International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences  
states:

"a Pan-movement is dedicated to the unification of a geographic area, linguistic group, nation , race or religion. The term 'Pan ' is so broad that it can be, and has been used to designate vast variety of disparate phenomena".<sup>1</sup>

It has always been difficult to determine in concrete terms, the philosophical or ideological, rationable behind these movements. There have been wide varieties of motives behind them. But their most prominent feature has always been idolization of unity among people living in different lands. The reasons for these sentiments of unity tend to vary from one Pan-movement to another.

Long before the term 'Pan' came into currency, nations and civilization has always aspired to unify themselves on grounds of race, territory, religion and

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1. International Encyclopaedia of Social Science, Vol. II, 1969, p.365.

language. The basis of multi-racial Roman empire was territory and for centuries the ideal of the commonwealth of Christian states continued to inspire and haunt the imagination of Christian statesman. The same is true of the Islamic civilization. Very early in Islamic history the dream of unified religio-political Caliphate empire over Muslims of the world was shattered, but Muslim thinkers everywhere believed that the ideal life would only be lived in Dar-ul-Islam (Commonwealth of Believers).<sup>1</sup>

Hanskohan has defined Pan-Movement as follows:

"Pan-movements are political and cultural movements aiming to promote the solidarity of groups, which are bound to each other by common or Kindered language, race or tradition or by some other postulated tie, such as geographic proximity".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See: Pan-Movements in the third world by Shaukat Ali : United Publishers Ltd. Lahore (Pakistan) 1976 p. 3.
  2. Encyclopaedia of Social Science, 13th edition, 1959 , Vol. XI, p. 544.



An Ottoman political ideal having as its basis the reunion of the scattered religious sects and political divisions of Islam under one head, for the resistance of further encroachment on Mohammedan territories by European powers, and for the ousting of European rulers from Asia and Africa. This ideal finds expression in Arabic by a phrase 'Ittihad al-Islam' meaning 'Islamic union or Pan-Islamism', and was first mentioned in English in 'The Times' of 19th January, 1882.

#### The Growth of Pan-Islamism in India :

The modern pan-Islamism originated during the 19th century as a revolt against western imperialism. The leader of this revolt was Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, an extremely iconoclastic personality, who single handedly ignited in many Muslim lands a burning awareness, that western imperialism could be unbudened only by the united efforts of the Muslims in every part of the world. The dynamism of Afghani and the nobility of his aspirations met with immediate success. By the time ~~he~~<sup>he</sup> died in 1897, the emissaries of Pan-Islamism had spread in various parts of the world.

The European powers had started intriguing against the Ottomans from the second half of the 19th century. In 1859 Abdul Rahman of the Hussanian dynasty died and his successor, Sidi Muhammad, had to defend himself against other claimants. Spain and France were the leading powers who intervened and in defence some raids by Moroccan ( a part of Ottoman Empire ) troops were made on Spanish and Franco-Algerian territory. This furnished an opportunity to Spain and France to commit aggression against the Moroccan people. War was declared and the Spanish forces won the day. In pursuance of the peace of Tetunan signed on April 26, 1860, a small tract of land was surrendered by the Morccans. Besides war indemnity which Moroccans had to pay, Spanish Missionaries were allowed to propagate their faith throughout the Moroccan territory. In 1904 great Britain recognised the predominance of France in Morocco and virtually consented to complete annexation. Germany intervened thereafter. A conference of 13 delegates representing Morocco, the European powers and the United States was held at Algeciras in 1906. Finally the Algeciras Act was signed by Sultan Abdul Aziz,

providing trading facilities to French, German, Spanish and the English.<sup>1</sup> On the North African Coast, Tripoli, an Ottoman Empire domainion became a victim of European barbarity. In the middle of the 7th century, the Arabs drove out the Christians, and Islam became dominant. In 1510 Ferdinand the catholic of Spain took the city of Tripoli, in 1530 it was given to the knights of St. John, who were expelled in 1551 by the Ottomans. It continued to be a part of the Ottoman Empire, undisturbed by any European power till the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>1</sup>

In the first decade of the 20th century the vast Ottoman Empire was made the target by the European powers who had directed their policies only towards one object, the extinction of the Sickman from Europe. In 1911, Tripoli, an Ottoman domainion became a victim of European aggression. Italy declared war on it and occupied it. The Italian attack on Tripoli brought misery in its train for the Arabs, whose food supplies had been interrupted. The inhuman treatment meted out

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1. From, Encyclopaedia Britania, Vol. XXII, pp. 482-84.

to the Arabs was unprecedented. Ameer Ali in a letter to 'The Times' pointed out that "The indiscriminate slaughter.....the massacre of captives, the killing of women who will not uncover their faces at the bidding of rude soliders. The 'execution' of non-combatants dragged into the streets, without even the pretence of an inquiry as to their complicity in the firing on the invaders.".<sup>1</sup>

The British attitude towards the war with Italy was one of neutrality. When Mr. Leach, M.P. asked Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary of state for foreign Affairs, in the course of a debate in the House of commons, to put a stop to the killing of Arabs, men, women and children by the Italians at Tripoli, he replied that the military operation of the Italian Government in Tripoli were a matter in which the British Govt. could not interfere and that any other attitude would not be consistent with the Declaration of neutrality that they had issued.<sup>2</sup> When Mr. Asquish, the Prime Minister was

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1. The Tribune Oct. 3.9.1992.

2. See : Parliamentary Debates- House of Commons  
Oct-24 Nov. 10-1911.

asked as to what action had been taken to check the massacre of Arabs by Italy in Tripoli, his reply was equally unsatisfactory.

When Ottomans were engaged in war with Italy, the Balkan States also revolted. The Turks stoutly resisted but failed. The Ottoman army broke up. Half of it was wounded, captured or killed. This brought the ottoman Empire to an end in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Outwordly British role in war was neutrality against the Ottoman Empire. While it was engaged in this war .It supplied arms and the other materials to the Arab against the Ottomans.and tried its best to make them (Muslims) weak, so that the Muslims could not be united against the British Raj. .

The British also did not like any interference by the ottoman Empire in their sea routes, which pass through the Muslim countries.

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1. From, Charles Downer Hazen, Europe Since 1815  
Indian Edu. Cal. 1988 pp. 567-69.

In the British hrook policy of nutrality, the Muslims found a delibrate hostility to Islam. British occupation of Egypt, Italy's success in Tripoli, the Anglo-French agreement with regard to persia and their Moral and Material support to the Balkan States, was rightly considered by the Muslims of India as a christen's conspiracy for the extinction of Islam. Vis count Errington, Private Secretary to the under secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Hardinge.

"Now we are actually face to face with the struggle between the Moslems and the christian".<sup>1</sup>

Winston Churchill, then cabinet Minister, supported the Balkan-states and said that they were quite justified in waging war against Turkey to drive the Turks from Christian Europe.<sup>2</sup> #

Turkey occupied a special place in the hearts of Indian Muslims not only because of its being a

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1. From Harding Papers Nov. 1910 March, 1913.

2. The Mussalman Dec. 6, 1912.

great Islamic power, but also because it was the Seat of their Caliph. They were already upset because of the annulment of the partition of Bengal, and when the Tripoli and the Balkan wars, came to their knowledge, they developed sentiments of hostility towards the British. It was difficult to find a single Muslim Paper without the heart-rending accounts of the Tripoli and Balkan atrocities. The Muslims emphasised the necessity of Pan-Islamism and condemned the British and other European powers.

The loyalty of Muslims changed into active opposition to the British. Haji Musa Khan of Aligarh asked the Muslims to follow the verse of the Holy Quran which advocated Pan-Islamism. Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, through their papers, the comrade, the Al Hilal and the Zamindar reminded the Muslims of the Islamic brotherhood.

The Tripoli-Balkan incident pained Mohd. Ali all the more. Every moment he felt that situation would improve but it was a vain hope. This so greatly perturbed him that he thought of committing suicide.

Frustrated and angered by the British attitude towards the Muslim States, Mohd. Ali wrote in his paper comrade copiously which stirred the Muslim masses. With the passage of time the tone of the comrade became more and more critical and it expressed more boldly the Pan-Islamic views. criticizing the British for supporting the Christians in Europe, it called their action " in the spirit of the crusade against the Turks".<sup>1</sup>

Mohd. Ali delivered a soul-stirring speech to an impatient gathering in the Jama Masjid, Delhi , and Characterised the Balkan war as the last fight of the Turks. The defeat of Turkey was the defeat of Islam. He affirmed that the Turkish cause was theirs and it was a cause of righteousness.<sup>2</sup>

Pan-Islamism refers to the existence of a community of sentiments and aspirations among the Muslims of the world as brought into existence by a common religion, and is associated with Jamaluddin

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1. The Comrade Oct.7, 1911.

2. See Reports on the Administration of U.P. of Agra and Oudh 1911-12 (Allahabad 1913).



Afghani who preached it in 1880's to save the Muslim states of west Asia and Europe from Christian domination.

With the rise of English education among the Muslims and the unjust treatment of European powers towards the Muslim states, Pan-Islamism again gained impetus in India. The Turco-Italian and The Balkan wars paved the way for its full growth and in later years one finds its new dimension the Khilafat Movement.

Mohd. Ali spelled out Pan-Islamism logically in the Comrade and said that no Muslim should feel ashamed of its application in India under the changed circumstances. "The progressive forces of modern civilisation, he wrote, "have no doubt produced a spirit of restlessness in the Mussalman population of the world. But this unrest is entirely the outcome of their consciousness about their intellectual and moral degradation. They want to reform their society, to grow in knowledge and self respect and to enjoy all the amenities of an age of progress and Freedom. Every Mussalman sympathizes with his brother Mussalman in this desire, be they as far apart as Morocco

and china, surely there is nothing dangerous and immoral in this aspiration".<sup>1</sup> Thus Khilafat Movement is a part and parcel of Pan-Islamism in India. Let us explain the Khilafat Movement in detail.

The Khilafat constitutes in a man's serving as an agent to or a representative of another after him in certain matter or in a certain capacity or position. This man is called Khalifa in Arabic Philology.

The Caliph was the spiritual and Temporal Head of the entire Muslim world, sometimes after the death of prophet Muhammad, the caliphate passed from democratically into the elected caliphs to the powerful rulers of Damascus in Syria from whom, later on, it was snatched by the Abbasside dynasty of Baghdad. Caliph Harunal-Rashid of Baghdad was the most famous among the caliphs of Baghdad. Therefore in the 16th century in 1575, Caliphate passed from the Arab people to an alien race, the ottoman Turks of constantinople, who had no emotional bond with the Arabs except

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1. The Comrade August 19, 1911.

the common religion of Islam. It continued in Turkey from the year till its abolition in 1924 by Kamal Pasha.<sup>1</sup>

According to Gail Minault :

"The Caliphate, Successor to the Prophet Muhammad, Commander of the faithful, the Shadow of God on earth-these exalted titles convey the symbolic importance of the caliphate (Khilafat) to the community of Islam. In theory the caliph was both the spiritual and temporal leader of the Sunni Muslims..... helping to assure eternal salvation for all Muslims"<sup>2</sup>

Chirag Ali on 'Khilafat' observed thus :

"The term Khalifa in Islamic history essentially means absolute authority vested with the ruling power. According to Muslim law, the Khalifa being a successor of the Prophet or Amir al-Muminin (commander of the faithful) or al-sawat al-Haiy (the living voice of Islam) is the only legal authority in matters of innovation. He has power and

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1. S.K. Majumdar: Jinnah and Gandhi Their Role in India's quest for freedom. Calcutta 1966, pp. 53-54.
  2. Gail Minault; The Khilafat Movement Religions, Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India Oxford Univ. Press, Bombay, 1982, p.1.

authority to bring about any political, legal or social reform subject to the injunction and the authority of the Quran".<sup>1</sup>

The Khilafat is therefore, the highest institution of the Islamic system. The institution is as old as Islam itself and it always carried with it a religious sanctity.

It is the duty of a Khalifa to defend the religion, Protect and extend the boundaries of the Dar-al-Islam, Punish wrong doers, make provision of troops for guarding the frontiers and wages war against of those who refuse to accept Islam. He also levies and collects taxes, gives salaries to his official, and pay personal attention to the details of Govt.

At the end of the 19th century Abdul Hamid launched his pan-Islamic programme in order to save his empire from external attack, and from the growing nationalist democratic movement at home.

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1. Chirag Ali, The proposed Political legal and Social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire and other Mohammadan states, Bombay 1883, p.3.

As a result of growing Misgovernment and aggressive foreign intervention a party was gradually formed in the first decade of the present century among the younger Muslims in Turkey in favour of constitutional reforms, military officials and modernization. It was known as the party of 'union and progress'. Its members were called the young Turks.

Abdul Hamid was desposed and in his place this brother Mohammad V was proclaimed new Khalifa Sultan in 1909. The committee of the union and progress became the master of Turkey. They wanted to maintain the uncontrolled domination of the Turks over the various peoples of their composite Empire i.e. Turkification.

The first world war began in 1914. Turkey was involved in a war in which Britain fought side by side with Russia which had been the old enemy of Ottoman Empire. No body can deny that England had been profited the most, by the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and also by whole dissolution of the Islamic Empire. Whole Empire of Britain in the East had been built upon the ruins of Ottoman Empire in Asia and Africa.

In the beginning of their rule in India, Great Britain was not interested in the preservation of the integrity of the Ottoman empire on account of the fear of the Blockade of the most important route to India by the possible access of Russia to Constantinople.

The Turkish question was intimately connected with the Indian problems. The sultan was looked upon by the Indian Muslims as their religious leader in his capacity as Khalifa.

Throughout most of the 18th and 19th century, Britain had appeared in the role of guardian of the Turkish Empire and had earned Muslims gratitude by defending the Sultan of Turkey from designs of European powers specially the Russia not only this, but actually the British tried to mobilise the Khilafat's influence on Indian Muslims for their own benefits.

At the time of the Russo-Turkish war in 1876-78, the Muslims of India showed full sympathy for the Turks and also formed a committee for helping the Turkish wounded soldiers and orphans.

The Holy places of Islam in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem were included in the Arab part of the Ottoman Empire. It was feared that the defeat of Turkey would place these Holy places under the Non-Muslim power which on religious grounds was wrong. Muslims were duty bound to resist this. Maulana Abdul Bari was appointed as the president (Khuddama-Kaaba) of the said organisation while Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sheikh Muslim Hussain Kidwai were its secretaries.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League held on 7th Oct. 1911 expressed its resentment on Italy's unjustification and high handed action in Tripoli and sympathy with Turkey in her undeserved troubles.<sup>1</sup>

In Oct. 1912 the four Balkan States Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, declared war on Turkey and achieved success.

If Turkey falls, Islam can not stand Turkey is, therefore the backbone of Islam. The minds of Ali brothers

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1. Ibid. p.59.

Maulana Mohd. Ali, Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad were specially agitated over the sufferings of the Turks during the Balkan wars. And they were behind the movement to help Turkey.

The majority of the Indian Muslims held to following view regarding the importance of their loyalty to their Khalifa vis-a-vis the British govt. of India.

"A Muslim or non-Muslim ruler cannot command the loyalty of the faithful living under him if the loyalty is at variance with his loyalty to his Khalifa. The loyalty to one's God and faith should always take precedence over his loyalty to a purely secular ruler. Among the Muslim loyalty and obedience to the Khalifa means loyalty and obedience to God: No ruler of the Muslim can legally and legitimately, according to Islamic doctrines, expect their obedience against the authority of their khalifa. If a Muslim or non Muslim prince demand the obedience of his Muslaman Subjects he must with the commander of the Faithful Khalifa and it was therefore that in the history of the Islamic peoples the politico-religious controversies which turned upon the right to the Khalifa are by far the most important.<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.H. Abbas, Ali About the Khilafat Calcutta 1923, pp.23.



To the Musalmans of India, the Sultan of Turkey was not only the head of the ottoman empire but also the Khalifa of the world community of Islam.

The Message of Pan-Islamism was spread by Many prominent Muslim leaders in India as Maulana Azad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Ali-Brothers. The role of Mohd. Ali on this reference was very important. His anti-British speeches and writings through his paper 'Comrade' helped to produce vigorous anti-British feeling among educated Sections of the community. Not only Muslims but Hindus were effected by the speeches and writings of Mohd. Ali among them Pt. Motilal. Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Swami Shraddhanand, Pt. Malviya, Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak were prominent. But Gandhiji Championed this cause whole heartedly and spread the Pan-Islamism through his leadership of Khlafat Movement in India.

Gandhiji came to India from South Africa in 1915. But his entry into politics may be said to date from 2nd March, 1918, when he issued a manifesto declaring his intention to start a satyagraha to strengthen the feeling of Pan-Islamism in India as well as in abroad.

He met Mohd. Ali in 1915 at Aligarh and became a staunch leader of Khalfat Movement. Gandhiji shared in the anxiety of Muslim brethren in his soul and heart. He advocated this religious sentiment of Muslims under the banner of Indian National Congress. He felt that the Muslim demand for Khilafat was just and he was bound to render all possible help to secure the due fulfilment of the pledge that the British prime Minister had given to the Indian Muslims during the war.

In October 1919 British Prime Minister Mr. Lloyd George delivered a speech and demanded the help and cooperation of the Indian Muslim during the war. The British Govt. had given pledges to the effect that after the war Turkey would not be treated harshly and British Government would safeguard the Muslim holy places.<sup>1</sup>

But the British did not do so. So the Muslims turned against the British. They wanted to maintain the Khalifa's power. Gandhiji was convinced of the Khilafat Movement and took an active role for the cause of Muslim brethren. He wrote a letter to the viceroy dated 27th April, 1918 on the Khilafat question. He said:

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1. Indian review Oct. 1919 p.270.

"I would like to request His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurances about Muhammadan states. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these states and to the Muslim sentiment as to the places of worship and in your just and timely treatment of Indian claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the Empire".<sup>1</sup>

He continued; "If all the powers of the world combine to force a Khalifa on Mussalmans the humblest of them will not follow him. If any one can also have a right to choose a new religion for Muslamans he can also appoint a Khalifa for them. It is not for me to point out that when the meanest nationalities and the smallest countries are being given the fullest liberty in temporal matters it will be highly detrimental to the great principle of true statemanship which are the very basic of every civilised and good government, if Mussalmans are made to feel that it is proposed to interfere with their religious questions".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See : Gandhi's letter to the viceroy 27th April 1918, Speeches and writings of M.K. Gandhian. (Nation and Co. Madras 1922, p. 430).

2. Quoted in Muslims and the Indian National Congress, p.180.

Gandhiji carried the congress with him for the work of Khilafat. Ali brothers were like his two arms the right and the life. Gandhiji concluded a pact with Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow by which he promised Hindu support to the Khilafat agitation and the Maulana appealed to the Mussalmans to refrain from cow-Slaughter in difference to Hindu sentiments.

On May 1918 Gandhiji along with the (Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad of Calcutta, Maulana Mehmoodul Hasan of Deoband and Hakim Azmal Khan, Dr. Ansari and the Ali Brothers of Delhi, met together for Caliph cause and formed a separate organization to conduct the Khilafat agitation to pressurize the British Govt. to treat Turkey well. This organisation came to be known as the central Khilafat committee of India, Bombay. This Khilafat committee chose Gandhiji as the sole leader and gave him all the powers to conduct and guide the movement. Its aims and objects were as follows : -

- 1) To secure for Turkey a Just and honourable peace.
- 2) To secure the fulfilment of the pledges given by the Right Honourable Mr. Lloyd George in his speech of the 5th January, 1918 and to preserve the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

- 3) With a view to securing the above objects to memorialise the British Minister H. E. the viceroy and, if necessary, the president of the United states of America.<sup>1</sup>

Some Muslim leaders called for observation of 27 October 1919 as Khilafat Day and they formed themselves into a Khilafat conference and also called a joint conference of Hindus and Muslims on 23rd Nov. 1919 at Delhi to have a fruitful debate on Khilafat Question. Mahatma Gandhi was the special invitee on the occasion and he was asked to preside over the conference. As regards the Khilafat Movement Hindus of India were divided into three broad classes-

- a) those who were prepared to join hands with Muslims in their anti-British campaign on the condition that Muslims gave up cow slaughter.
- b) those who feared that in the zeal of their extra territorial loyalty, Muslims might go so far as to invite afghanistan to invade India and usurp power with its help. A prospect which would establish Muslim rule once again and .

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1. Quoted by V.K. Saxena : op. cit p.74 from : P.C. Bomford. History of the non-cooperation and Khilafat movements pp. 144-45.

- c) those who attached no condition and believed in the good faith of muslims.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi's division to lead the Khilafat Movement was the result of his realization that the Khilafat question had created an unprecedented awakening among the Muslims, an awakening which they were prepared to pour into nationalism and into a struggle which would eventually develop into a freedom movement. At this Khilafat conference, Gandhiji, declared before a huge audience.

"It is our duty to demonstrate to the British people, the king and responsible ministers that we regard the sentiments of Mussalmans with respect and consider their cause just. It is not right that eight crore Mussalmans should have to face mental torment. They are in the right and they should be helped. On 17th Oct. 1919 the whole of India excepting the Punjab observed a fast and hartal and prayed. But this will not be adequate. The Khilafat question is a very big one and it belongs to the whole of India, let me here tell Indians not to despair".

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1. Young India.

Quoted also in : The Gandhi-reader

Ed. Homer. A Jack (Madras) 1956, pp.36-37

He continued" if Alsac and Lorraine were not restored to France, there would be no peace for France, similarly, Indians could say that so long as eight crore Indian Muslims were not relieved of their anguish regarding the Khilafat question. Indians could have nothing to do with celebrations of war if, however, that question were satisfactorily settled, all Indians would spontaneously and respectfully join the rejoining".<sup>1</sup>

In Khilafat conference in Delhi on 3 November 1919. Gandhi ji delivered a speech and expressed his feelings thus :

"How can twenty two crore Hindus have peace and happiness, if eight crores of their Muslim brethren are torn in anguish ? The pain of eight crores is also the pain of the other twenty two crore inhabitants of India; therefore, although peace has been concluded, India, has not known any real peace".<sup>2</sup>

On 14th May, 1920, the terms of the Treaty of Sevres was published, On 30th June, 1920, a great Muslim conference at Allahabad, following another at Bombay,

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1. Young India.

Quoted also in : The Gandhi-reader  
Ed. Homer, A Jack (Madras) 1956, pp. 36-37.

2. The Bombay Chronicle 29 Nov, 1919.

adopted Gandhi's programme of Non-co-operation. Meanwhile in May, the report of the Hunter commission on the Amritsar Massacre and martial law in Punjab, was published. To consider the new situation, a special session of the Congress was called for the early days of September in Calcutta. Gandhiji went to it with the Muslim Masses behind him, pledged to Non-cooperation.

From 23rd to 25 July, 1920, a Khilafat conference was held at Sind. It was attended by about 10,000 people and was addressed by Mahatma Gandhi, He advised.

"23 crores of Hindus to help 7 crores of Muslims as the latter's religion was in danger, Union between them should be must.....no physical assistance or power would help but soul power. They should live faithful to government only when religion is not endangered. Govt. had more physical power and a heavier sword. They must not assist a tyrannical Government."<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi, Young India, 11 August, 1920.



Gandhiji told that he preferred to die for Mussalmans and if he was sent to gallows, they should congratulate him. He urged his audience to use no violence and not to resist but follow non-co-operation which was to begin on August 1, 1920 or if too weak to follow non-cooperation to do hijrate as advised by Ali brothers.

The speeches had a profound effect upon the Mussalmans particularly of Sindh. They were already on fire with religious passion. This incandescent mass would flow into any mould its leaders made ready for it. This actually happened on the frontier and in Sindh, where the idea of Hijrat, Mass Migration looked feasible because Afghanistan was too near".<sup>1</sup> Gandhiji launched his Non-co-operation programme without waiting for the Congress approval. The justification of his action, Gandhiji said :

"It is no Congressman's duty to consult the congress before taking an action in a matter in which he has no doubts for me to suspend the Non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Mussalman brethren-----. They cannot await Congress

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1. H.S.L. Polak H.N. Brailsford and Lord Pathick Lawrance Mahatma Gandhi (London 1949) p.134.

decision. The Khilafat is a matter of conscience with them. And in matter of conscience the law of majority has no place".<sup>1</sup>

But the real reason why Gandhiji did not wait for congress decision was that Muslims were becoming impatient, and he feared the possibility of the movement taking a violent course and thus passing out of his control if there was a delay in launching it.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim leaders were more keen to have some action instead of mere words. The Muslim leaders got furious, and there might have been deluge or riot and anarchy, had not Gandhi offered Non-co-operation as the only remedy.

This resolution of Non-co-operation was passed by Congress later. The original draft was based on two burning wrongs of the day, the Khilafat and the Punjab, but on the advice of Pt. Motilal Nehru, the

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1. M.K. Gandhi, Young India 1920 Quoted also in C.W.M.G. Vol. 18, p.112.

2. See Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Muslims by Mohibul Hasan Op. cit. p.134.

demand for swaraj as its climax was also included. Gandhi's resolution went on to specify, as follows, the detailed steps through which he proposed that non co-operation should be realized :

1. Surrender of titles, honorary offices and nominated seats.
2. Refusal to attend official Durbars and ceremonies.
3. Gradual withdrawal of students and pupils from Govt. Colleges and schools, and the establishment of National colleges and schools to replace them.
4. Gradual boy-cott of British courts by lawyers and litigants; establishment of private arbitration courts to replace them.
5. Refusal of soliders, clerks and labourers to offer themselves for service in Mesopotemia.
6. Withdrawal of candidates from the elections for the reformed councils, and abstention of electors from the poll.

## 7. Boycott of foreign goods.<sup>1</sup>

The first test of Policy of Non- co-operation came at the elections for the reformed councils in Nov. 1920. The congressmen among the candidates obeyed with perfect loyalty the decision taken in Calcutta. "The boycott of elections was also impressive in a few places the ballot boxes were literally empty". Thus Gandhiji for the first time in Indian History brought masses in the political stream.

Gandhi's proposal was approved at the subject committee meeting on 7 Sept. 1920, by Majority of twelve votes. Among those who supported Gandhiji were Motilal Nehru, Jitendralal Banarjee, Saifuddin Kitchlaw, Saikat Ali, Yakub Hasan and Dr. Ansari, his opponents included of Pt. Malviya, Annie Besant, H. Kunzru and M. A. Jinnah, Motilal's support to Gandhi revealed his change of opinion whatever might have been the cause his transformation brought mere supporters for Gandhi.

Mr. Jinnah left the congress in the annual session of the congress on the issue of Khalafat Movement in December 1920 in Nagpur. Jinnah, according to Jawahar Lal

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1. Pelak, Brailsford and Pethick Lawrence, p.187.

Nehru, did not like this "new development in the Congress. .. Non-cooperation and the new constitution which made it more of a popular and mass organisation.....He disagreed on political grounds on Khilafat".<sup>1</sup>

Jinnah left the Congress for good and henceforth devoted himself life and soul to the building up of the Muslim league and protection of Muslim interests. But it must, in fairness to Jinnah be said that he did not withhold Muslims of the league school from the Non-cooperation Movement of 1920-21. Presiding over the Muslim league session of 1920 he said : "Mr. Gandhi has placed his programme of non-cooperation supported by the authority of the Khilafat conference before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principles, whether or not you approve of its details. The operation of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure. Your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a

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1. Quoted in Jinnah and Ganhi, p.79.

decision. But once you have decided to March, 1st there be no retrest under any circumstances".<sup>1</sup>

When Gandhiji requested Jinnah to rally under the banner of non-co-operation, Jinnah's reply was as follows :

"I thank you for your kind suggestion offering me to take my share in the new life that has opened up before the country. If by new life, you mean your methods and your programme. I am afraid, I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster.. your methods have already caused splits and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto, and in the public life of the country and your extreme programme has for the moment..."<sup>2</sup>

Besides Jinnah, there were a few other Muslims who could not accept the new programme of Non-cooperation. The resignation of Badruddin Koor earlier and that of Bhurgani

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1. Presidential Address of M.A. Jinnah Muslim league session 1920  
see also : Sarifuddin Pirzade Vol.I. p.543

2. S.K. Majumdar Gandhi and Jinnah p.83.

at a later stage from the central Khilafat committee indicated the disapproval of a few Muslim Khilafatist of the new programme. Bhurgari, in his letter of resignation emphatically expressed that "the policy of non-cooperation was suicidal to the interest of the country and Muslims in particular".<sup>1</sup>

In spite of opposition of some Hindu and Muslim leaders Gandhi worked continuously for the Khilafat cause. He toured many places in India with Muslim leaders to express opposition to the British policy. The crowds welcomed him with the slogans of 'Hindu Mussalman ki Jai' during the non-cooperation.

Under the guidance and active leadership of Gandhiji, a Khilafat deputation was formed. On the 19th January, 1920, Gandhiji as the leader of deputation waited upon his Excellency the viceroy to place before him their views on the Khilafat question and to ask for his sympathetic assistance in conveying those views to the peace conference at Paris. The deputation consisted of 35 persons and among them were Ali Brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abdul Bari, Seth Chotani, Abul Kalam Azad, Hasarat Mohani, Dr. Kitchlew, and Swami Shraddhanand. They

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1. Quoted in : Gandhi A Challenge to Communalism, p.78.  
From-Home/Pol/Deposit, July 1920 till No.95, NA 1.

failed to get any satisfactory response from the Viceroy. The Khilafat conference then sent another deputation to England to wait upon the secretary of State for India and the British Prime Minister, Lloyed George. But it too met with failure. Lloyed merely reaffirmed the position his government had taken, "that turkey could not be treated on principles different from those applied to christian countries, he asserted that while Turkey would be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish lands, she would not be permitted to retain the lands which were not Turkish".<sup>1</sup>

To add insult to injury, the deputation was still in England, and the British Govt. published the terms of the Treaty of Sevres on 14th May, 1920. This disappointed Gandhiji and Indian Muslims much and ultimately they adopted non co-operation programme in a more forceful manner. The congress met at Ahmedabad in 1921, and at Gaya in 1922 for the cause of Khilafat and recorded its power and removed<sup>1</sup> all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish nation to free and independent status and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam and the Jaziratul-Arab freed from all

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1. Ram Gopal : Indian Muslims, p.143.



non-Muslim control".<sup>1</sup>

It passed another resolution at the said Congress taking serious note of the situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and Turkish Government" and expressed "determination of the Hindus, Mussalman and all other people of India to prevent any such injury....."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the congress and the Hindus under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were solidly with the Mussalmans in their support of the Khilafat cause.

Gandhiji launched the Khilafat Movement by surrendering his titles and decorations "valuable as these honours have been to me" he wrote to viceroy, "I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussalman countrymen have to labour under wrong done to their religious sentiment".<sup>3</sup>

1. The Indian National Congress Proceedings (Gaya 1922) Resolution No.V.

2. Ibid. Resolution No.IX.

3. Gandhi's letter to the viceroy, 2nd August 1920.

The boycott programme of Gandhi's had already been practiced by the Hindus and Muslims both. At the persuasion of Mohd. Ali, C.R. Das gave up his practice. Mohd. Ali wrote to Dr. Abdul Hamid.....it was at my persuasion that Hindu leader of Bengal Mr. C.R. Das, gave up his practice as a barrister and joined our ranks at the sacrifice of the Rs.8,00,000 per year".<sup>1</sup>

Hakim Azmal Khan was one of the pioneers to renounce his titles. In the same process Khaliquzzaman was one of the first to boycott the law courts. In the boycott of schools and educational institutions, Aligarh played a significant role, following a visit by Mohammad Ali and Gandhiji more than 100 students left the Aligarh Muslim University for the cause of Khilafat, the college authorities of Aligarh expelled the non-cooperators, but this could not check the spirit of non-co-operation and ultimately the college was close down. The U.P.Govt. suspended the scholarship of those students who participated in the Non-co-operation movement. Teachers who had been influencing the students were dismissed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A letter from Mohd. Ali to Dr. Abdul Hamid dated 2 Dec. 1921.

2. See: Mushirul Hasan : op. cit. pp. 182-83.

Gandhiji praised those boys who had left the Aligarh College, participated in his programme and encouraged their parents also to participate in it.

He wrote in 'Young India' on 3rd November 1920 to the parents of Aligarh boys "in which he described the system of the present government as satanic".

Gandhiji had no influence with the students but Mohd. Ali and Shaukat Ali backed up by a continuous stream of Maulvis and other Muhammadan agitators from outside had succeeded in stirring up a large number of students. The latest report was that Mohd. Ali had got the signature of 200 students who promised him their full support.<sup>1</sup>

A comparative study of the role of the Aligarh Muslim college and the Banaras Hindu University, concerning non-cooperation was noteworthy. During the non-co-operation Movement Gandhiji addressed several

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1. See : Gandhi in Challenge to communalism, pp. 80-81.

meetings at the Benaras Hindu University and sometimes took Shaukat Ali with him. Gandhiji in his address to the Banaras Student, said,

"What I am asking you to do is to leave the university and go to your home..... if you have confidence in yourselves, you will be able to raise a university this very day".<sup>1</sup>

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohd. Ali advised students at Aligarh to leave college without any conditions.

Malviya ji and other Hindu leaders were not in agreement with Gandhiji, rather they opposed him, and that proved to be a major reason behind Gandhi's failure in Benaras.

We have seen how the Aligarh Muslim College students responded to Gandhi's call. May, be Gandhiji was more acceptable to the Aligarh Students because of the Ali brothers, whose influence over the students and

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1. See C.W.M.C. vol. 19, p.37.

because of the Ali brothers, whose influence over the students and the neighbouring Muslim community was deep rooted, and that helped Gandhiji to convince the muslim students about if efficacy of his programme.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1921 was a year of intense activity and unprecedented co-operation between all communities and joint political action for securing Swaraj and redress for the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. Thousand of men and women belonging to all communities were imprisoned. Maulana Mohd. Ali, Shaukat Ali Hussain Ahmad, Abul Kalam Azad, Desbandhu Das. Pt. Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and other prominent leaders and a very large number of congress and Khilafat members and workers were imprisoned towards the closing months of the year.

The arrest of Ali brothers greatly pained Gandhiji, He called them brave brothers and staunch lovers

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1. See : Gail Minault, op.cit.

Also See : David Lolyveld ; the Campaign for a Muslim University, 1898-1920, p. 188-89.

of their country. Their roll in the Khilafat was also eulogised. They were the pioneers of Hindu-Muslim unity. "For me they had become inseparable. I seem to be without my arms. For any thing connected with Muslims, Shaukat Ali was my guide and friend. He never once misled me. His judgement was sound and unerring in most cases, with the brothers among us I feel safe about Hindu Muslim unity, the value of which they understood as few of us have".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji was a man of Principles. Non-violence was one of those principles. Throughout his life he used this Mantra in all his programmes. He also suggested this Mantra to all his fellowmen. Since the beginning upto 1922. Khilafat movement was a really forceful movement in Indian history. It shook the very roots of the British govt. They started thinking of leaving India. But the sudden withdrawal of the powerful movement after, Chauri-chaura incident on Feb 5, 1922, in which 21 constable and a sub-inspector were killed, brought disaster in India.

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1. Young, India, 29 Sep. 1921.

Jinnah had told Gandhi in 1920, when Gandhi was about to start the movement. "Once you have decided to March, let there be no retreat under any circumstances". Jinnah's words proved true, when Gandhiji called off the movement.

Gandhi did not give any logical answer about his withdrawal of the movement. On hearing of the Chauri-chura incident Gandhiji wrote, "God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that truthful and non-violence atmosphere which and which alone can justify civil disobedience in masses. He warned me in 1919 when the Rowlatt Act agitation started. The next time it was through the event of Bombay that God gave a terrific warning. But the bitterest humiliation is that of today. God spoke clearly through chauri-chaura".<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims and the Hindu leaders, angrily protested against the decision of Gandhiji (suspension of Non-cooperation movement). The congress session was held at Delhi on Feb. 24 and 25, 1922 and Criticised Gandhiji.

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1. M.K. Gandhi- A study in Indian Nationalism, (G.A. Natesan, Madras 1923) pp. 107- 108.

The decision of Gandhiji to suspend the Non-cooperation movement acted like a clap of thunder to the Mahatma's adherents. Probably no one was closer to him than his faithful secretary, Mahadev Desai, but even Desai wrote from Agra that the shock had absolutely unhinged him.

The suspension of Non-cooperation movement by Gandhiji was a greatest mistake of his life. If he would not have done so, the Swaraj would have been achieved in 1925. But Gandhi's fault took many years in getting Swaraj.

The government arrested Gandhi on 13th March 1922, and was charged with three offences under section 124-A for the articles in young India. "Tempering with loyalty" of Sept. 29, 1921. The "puzzle and its solution", of December 15, 1921, and "shaking the Manes" of Feb. 23, 1922. The three articles were said to express disloyalty to the government. Gandhiji pleaded guilty to all the charges. "I am here, therefore, to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me".



An appealing to the judge, he said" The course open to you, Mr. Judge, is as I am just going to say in my statement either to resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty".

The Judge , Robert Broomfield sentenced him to six years imprisonment. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, while addressing a large and distinguished gathering including some members of the Legislature declared that the government had committed a great blunder in arresting Mr. Gandhi and hoped that they would soon undo their mistake".<sup>1</sup>

The Advocate of India opined,  
"Mr. Gandhi's arrest adds to the political excitement created by Mr. Montagu's resignation".

The arrest of Gandhiji practically ended the non-cooperation movement.

On the other hand, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk abolished the Khilafat on 3rd March 1924. The Khalifa

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1. The leader, 13 March, 1922.

and his family were expelled from Turkey and their property confiscated. "Thus an institution hallowed with traditions of thirteen centuries---- passed away as if in a twinkling of an eye".<sup>1</sup>

This took the wind out of the sails of the Khilafat agitation in India. Moh. Ali still talked of the Khalifa as the spiritual head but his attempt to see Kamal Pasha with a deputation failed as the Turkish leaders told him that they were too busy to receive the deputation. S.K. Majumdar says,

"It was a strange spectacle that while the misguided Indian Muslims were prepared to lay down their lives for the maintenance of the Turkish sovereignty over the Arab lands the Turks themselves were prepared to barter away Arabian, Syria and Palestine for the rich oil fields of Mosul".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Mohammad, Barakatullah, The Khilafat (London 1924) p.1.

Thus the Khilafat movement ended in India by 1922. Spasmodic efforts to secure Muslim control of the Holy places continued in 1923 and 1924 but little resulted.

According to Mujeeb "The abolition of the Khilafat not only broke the back of the Khilafat committee, it made the whole agitation look ridiculous".<sup>1</sup>

The Khilafat Movement was deprived of its main motive and was bound to collapse. According to F. Rahman, "it was perhaps more semiconsciously a bid for finding muslim security in a future independent India ever against a non-Muslim majority".<sup>2</sup>

The immediate consequences of Gandhi's Khilafat Movement seemed as-according to Tarachand :

- 1) The Indian National Congress which had become United in 1916 was split again. Those who disapproved of the new programme of action seccded and founded the All India Liberal Federation.

1. Mujeeb : Indian Muslims- p.436.

2. Quoted by Khalid B. Sayeed op.cit. p.57.

2) For the next 25 years the congress was an instrument of Gandhi's will and its politics was overlaid with religious though not denominational fervour.

3) The Muslim League lost its popularity and Muslim politics passed under the domination of the religious leaders. Men like Jinnah, Wazir Hasan, Raja of Mohmudabad, Fazli Hussain, Mohd. Shafi, who had been the pillars of Muslim League, were relegated to the background and the Khilafat committee and the Jamiat-ul-Ulma assumed the leadership of Muslims.

4) The Hindu and Muslim masses were drawn in to the political struggle increasing numbers. Religious emotions were deeply stirred with the result that the followers of both become more actually conscious of their own individuality religion and politics were confused.<sup>1</sup>

Edward Thompson observes : "Mr. Gandhi took up by the greatest mistake of his career the Khilafat agitation, on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See Tarachand, History of the Freedom Movement in India 1967, Vol.3, p.418.

2. Edward Thomson : Enlist India for freedom (London)1940, p.52.

The failure of the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movements affected to wreck the government of India Act of 1919, where the dyarchy was first time introduced. From the very beginning it was detected by shrewd observers that the Hindu-Muslim unity as stressed by Khilafat leaders and Gandhiji was not based on firm foundations. The critics estimated that the Muslims were not so much fighting for freedom for India as they were fighting for the maintenance of the Khilafat in Turkey whereas for Gandhi the Khilafat was a weapon which he could use to accelerate India's advance towards Swaraj.<sup>1</sup>

The abolition of the Califate proved that Pan-Islamism was dead and great Britain henceforth had no reason to fear the troubles in her Mohammadan dependencies which was earlier not the case.

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1. Quoted by Khalid B. Sayeed in Pakistan-A Formative Phase (Karachi 1968) p.560.

### Reasons for Gandhi's support to the Khilafat Movement

Gandhiji's support to the Khilafat Movement has been severely criticised as having strengthened the fanatical element among the Muslims and weakening the liberal and secular among them. Why did Gandhi support a purely Pan-Islamic Movement ? The answer is clear. Gandhi supported the Khilafat Movement "in order to attract the support of the Muslims for the nationalist cause",<sup>1</sup> closely allied to it was Gandhi's desire for Hindu-Muslim unity, Gandhi wrote in his autobiography:

"I had realized early enough in South Africa that there was no genuine friendship between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. I never missed a single opportunity to remove obstacles in the way of unity. It was not in my nature to placate anyone by education, or at the cost of self respect. But my South African experiences had convinced me that it would be on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity that my ahimsa would be put to its severest test".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by Moin Shakir, in his 'Khilafat to Partition', p. 69 New Delhi 1970.

2. Selected works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol.II, (An Autobiography) Ahmedabad 1927, p. 659.

He continued ; "I had discussions with Muslim friends. I felt that if I would become a true friend of the Muslims, I must render all possible help in securing a just settlement of the Khilafat question"<sup>1</sup>.

Gandhiji was also convinced of the justice of the Muslim cause. He said that the movement "was not only against any ethical principle, but that the British Prime Minister had admitted the justice of the Muslim demand. I felt therefore, bound to render what I could in securing, a due fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge".<sup>2</sup>

In this way the primary motives of Gandhi in supporting the Muslims over the Khilafat issue were Hindu-Muslim Unity and the justice of the Muslim cause. He is also quoted as having said that he helped the Muslim because he wanted to save the cow, speaking before

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1. Ibid, p. 660.

2. CWMG. Vol. VI. p.57.

the A.I.C.C. at Bombay he said, "True I did in my heart of hearts cherish a hope that it might enable me to save the cow. I am a worshipper of the cow. I believe the cow and myself to be the creation of the same God, and I am prepared to sacrifice my life in order to save the cow".<sup>1</sup>

But Gandhiji did not join Khilafat Movement in spirit of bargain. "I cooperated in the struggle for the Khilafat solely, in order to discharge my obligation to my neighbour who, I saw, was in distress..... it was not a bargain on my part for saving the cow. The cow like the Khilafat, stood on her own merits, as an honest man, a true neighbour and a faithful friend, it was incumbent on me to stand by the Mussalmans in the hour of their trial".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhiji thought that if Hindus helped the Mussalmans in their hour of distress, the latter would look upon the Hindus as their true friends and that would promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

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1. C.W.M.G.P. 57.

2. The Voice of the Truth,  
edited by Shriman Narayan (Ahmedabad) 1968, p.57.



There was another reason to supporting the Khilafat Movement by Gandhiji, A Muslim historian observed thus : "Gandhiji with the great uncanny insight that he possessed, realised the depths of Muslim feelings over the issue and he decided to champion their cause. He saw that here was an opportunity not only to win the good will and confidence of the Muslims and to become their leader, but also to use them as a counter poise against those Hindus who were not yet prepared to accept his leadership and programme".<sup>1</sup>

The Khilafat Movement was primarily a pan-Islamic movement to protect the temporal and the spiritual interests of the Khalifa. The Hindus and the congress under Gandhi's leadership joined Muslims to help them in their hour of need. During the Khilafat days there was remarkable Hindu-Muslim unity. But the Mussalmans in India committed a fundamental blunder. They never knew that the Khilafat was a lost cause in Turkey itself.

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1. Mohitbul Hasan ; Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian Muslim, Advanced Study, Simla 1969 (Transactions of the India institute of ).

Mustaffa Kamal Ataturk was for secularising Turkish Politics. He and his people were against the institution of Khilafat.

Gandhi's Mistake was that he could not correctly read the Muslim minds. His ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity was laudable one but was impracticable. The Khilafat movement actually showed the seeds of separatism among the Muslims of India.

For the Muslims of India restoration of Khilafat became primary objective. The Muslims welcomed Hindu help for the Khilafat cause but as expected by the congress, they did not sacrifice their permanent interest. No community wants to merge with other community so the Muslims could not merge their separate identity with the congress and the Hindus. To them their interests were permanent and sacred and must be protected.

The Muslims suspected Gandhi as a cooperator of Hindu Mahasabhist. Even then Ali brothers - the right and left hands of Gandhiji during the Khilafat days drifted

away from him and Mohd. Ali, the more vocal of the two declared some time later that the Mussalmans could not join Mr. Gandhi's movement as that aimed at subjugating the Mussalmans to Hindu Mahasabha i.e. Hindu domination. Nothing could be farther from truth. For Gandhi there was no difference between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, between the high born and the Harijan. He wanted India to be independent, Indian people welded into one harmonious whole, each one of them having their own religion and freedom of worship and tolerant towards each other.

Khuda Baksh wrote, "The Khilafat Movement did not open the path for the development of nationalism, nor did it introduce liberalism into Indian Islam. Thanks to Gandhi and Non-cooperation Movement, the Muslim community was drawn into the mainstream of Indian nationalism in 1920-22, but the experience was much too brief, and because the Khilafat bubble was pricked by Turkey, had an unhappy ending----".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Quoted in : Gandhi: Pan-Islamism imperialism and nationalism in India, by B.R. Nanda. Oxford University Press Bombay, 1989 p.372.

In his book the 'Indian Federation' published in 1937, Prof. Shabat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad University, referred to the Khilafat Movement as a destructive force, in which subconscious impulses, lofty idealism, youthful indiscretion and desire for power and leadership were mixed in a most incongruous manner and which was 'devoid of constructive thought and was purely negative in its aims, methods and policy.'<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Mohd. Iqbal, the eminent poet, described the Khilafat Movement as an act of foolishness on the part of the Indian Muslims, and a surrender to the Hindus".<sup>2</sup>

Francis Robinson observed "Gandhi does not appear to be just the masterly politician in search of allies, but also the ally who is sought and occasionally even manipulated. The support of the Khilafatists was doubtless useful to Gandhi at the Calcutta and Nagpur sessions of the INC, but the Khilafatists were to have his support for three long years. "The Mahatma adds Robinson, "in fact was won for the Muslims and not the Muslims for the Mahatma".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ibid p.372.

2. Ibid p.373.

3. Francis Robinson "Separation among Indian Muslims, p.352.

Non-cooperation movement was mass movement by both the communities, the Hindus and the Muslims. It was launched by the Khilafat committee and the congress when it was reaching its pitch, Gandhi called off the movement without consulting the leaders either of the Khilafat committee or of the Congress. It was a fact that Gandhi was given all the powers by both the Khilafat Committee, and the Congress about the conduct of the movement, while he was calling off the movement he said, "God has been abundantly kind to me. He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that the truthful and non-violence atmosphere which and which alone can justify civil disobedience in Masses.....".

Gandhi's withdrawal of the Movement was criticised by the leaders of both the communities. Subhash Chandra Bose called it a national calamity". He observed again "I was with Deshbandhu (C.R.Das) at the time and I could see that he was beside himself with anger and sorrow at the way Mahatma Gandhi was repeatedly bungling".<sup>1</sup>

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru observed it  
"amazement and consternation" at the  
decision.

Motilal Nehru and Lajpat Rai wrote from goal urging  
Gandhi not to halt the movement because of a stray  
incident.

Some of his ardent followers were troubled  
by doubts and torn between loyalty to their leaders and  
their own convictions. They were at a loss to see the  
calling off the movement just because of Chauri-Chaura.  
was it not open to the govt. to thwart the non-violent  
rebellion by staging such incidents through agents pro-  
vocateurs and thus turn the satyagraha struggle into a  
pious futility? was the congress a political institution  
or a testing ground for the inner conflicts of a Mahatma?  
were the sacrifices of the nation to go in vain, and were  
the non-cooperation to continue to rot indefinitely in  
goal ? And were not the several of the 'aggressive'  
programmes an invitations to the government to pounce  
upon the non-cooperators and to turn their retreat  
into a rout?<sup>1</sup>

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1. See : B.R. Nanda: Mahatma Gandhi, A Biography,  
Oxford University, Press Delhi, 1989, p. 134.

Such were the angry questions shot at Gandhi by bewildered and indignant followers. few of the critics could see that Chauri-chaura was not the cause, but only the occasion for the reverse gear which he had applied.

Hindu-Muslim Unity which was established during the Khilafat Movement when cow slaughter was abandoned and Ramlila, and Muharram processions were greeted by the Hindus and Muslims, disappeared with Gandhi's withdrawal of the movement.

The greatest communal dishormany and utter failure of Gandhi's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity was sattered by riots and murders that follows upto 19, December 1922, 1826 persons were killed and 1500 wounded, while 30,000 people were imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

The Simon commission counted 112 Major communal riots in the sub-continent in the five years (1923-1927).<sup>2</sup>

1. Papers regarding the issue of Mophla white paper home political File No.601, of 1922.

2. See Phillips C.H. and wain wright ph, D, eds,  
The Partition of India, London: 1971: p. 100.

The Government was conscious of the Hindu-Muslim Unity and was busy in playing its own game of divided and rule. the Moplahs rose in revolt in Malabar, adistrict on the coast of the then Madras presidency. Ernad and wallavanad, two Talukas of this District were the seats of Moplah disturbances. They worked on the estates of the Nambudri Brahmins or on leaseholds. The rent was often raised at each renewal of their contracts. The uncertainty of tenure of their holdings made for agrarian discontent. Since British rule was established, Malabar had witnessed thirty five serious Moplah outbreaks but their causes were rooted in Economic and religious conditions. The Khilafat movement and the non-cooperation movement had sharpened their reactions towards the Britishers and the Hindu Zamindars. The the Satanic British Government was the enemy of Islam. They believed that the British government was nearing its end and the day had dawn when they would have neither to pay taxes to the government nor rent to the land owners. The failure of monsoon had added to this economic distress. So they could not pay the taxes to the government and the Hindu Zamindars. They were tortured by the Hindu Zamindars and



the Zamindars helped the British government to make them arrest and murder. The religious fanaticism was generated by the Khilafat. They revolted against the Zamindars and the British Govt. And a reign of terror. Murder, conversion, arson, and loot resulted. False reports of Muslims atrocities on Hindus and their forcible conversion to Islam were highlighted.<sup>1</sup>

The British government regarded the Moplah agitation as an organised rebellion based on Pan-Islamic movement. It was being led by Gandhi".<sup>2</sup>

The Khilafat and the Congress committees contradicted the false reports. Aryasamajist leaders criticised the act of conversion by the Moplahs, Aryasamajist leaders also pressed Gandhi to find solution for the sufferers who were Hindu Zamindars. Reflecting on the massacres and conversions, Gandhi said ; "Forcible conversions are horrible things. He said, "it was bad enough for one to committ rape or murder".

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1. Shan, Mohammad : Indian Muslim.

2. William, Rough Brook: India in 1923-24. Calcutta 1924, p.94.

He later started collecting fund for the sufferers.

The approximate number of casualties suffered by the Moplah rebels during the rebellion were 2300, Killed and 1650 wounded. The casualties to the troops numbered 137, but great numbers of the innocent population were massacred.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi, who had been placating the Muslims, was held, responsible for the massacres in Malabar. The liberals said that the misguided Moplahs rendered a distinct disservice to the sacred cause of Islam and Swaraj.

Many mercilessly criticised Gandhi for his lenient and exonerating attitude to the Moplah atrocities. The editor of Modern Review described Hindu-Muslim unity as a camouflage. Later Gandhi said that the Moplah revolt<sup>1</sup> was a test for Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim must naturally

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1. See : Mahatma Gandhi; A prophet and saint; by Dhaman Jay Kher p. 402.

feel the shame and humiliation of the Moplah conduct in forcible conversions and looting".<sup>1</sup>

Hindu feeling had been deeply stirred over the Malabar rising in many cities of India. Hindu preachers were denouncing the forcible conversions and other atrocities perpetrated by the Moplahs in terms which aroused the resentment of followers of Islam. The Shuddhi, Sangathau, Tabligh and Tanzim Movements, were organised by prominent non-cooperators.

The Shuddhi was organised by Swami Shraddhanand and the Arya Samaj to proselytize fallen away Hindus such as those converted to Islam during the Moplah rebellion. In reply of this movement a number of prominent ulama and sufis, including Khwaja Hasan Nizami and Maulana Abdul Bari, began a Muslim Missionary Movement Tabligh.

Another Hindu organization and its Muslim counterpart which grew up at the time were the Sangathan (unity) Movement was led by Lala Lajpat Rai and the

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1. Quoted by Dhananjay Kher : in his Mahatma Gandhi- A Prophet and Saint, p. 402.

'Tanzeen' (organization) was the brain child of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew. These Movements resulted into many riots. In late 1922 and 1923, the Punjab was the scene of communal Skirmishes, Multan in Sep. 1922, and Amritsar in April 1923.

These organisations contributed to the growing atmosphere of communal tension. For example during the Shia Muslim observance of Muharram in August 1923 there were serious riots in Agra and Saharanpur. These riots spread in 1924, more seriously in Lucknow, Nagpur, Delhi, Allahabad and Kohat.

Khilafat Movement was not an issue of Indian politics, actually it was pan-Islamic issue. The movement should not have been launched in India. Ali brothers made a mistake to lead this movement in India, and more to accept, Gandhi as a sole leader of this movement, Gandhi accepted the leadership, believing that this movement would give him a grand opportunity to make experiments with his own ideas and popularity among the Muslim masses and the congress. Jinnah disliked Gandhi's support on the Khilafat issue and raised a question why Gandhi was ardent and enthusiastic towards the question of Turkish Caliphate,

with which neither he nor India had any concern whatsoever are very interesting questions? <sup>1</sup> Hence Jinnah left the Congress in 1920.

Many critics said that Gandhi had not led this movement for the freedom of country. If it was so, he should have led a movement when the Punjab Massacres and the Punjab atrocities took place in 1919.

We find that Gandhi was exercising his pacifying influence and was urging moderation and restraint on all sides at congress session, but he made a complete somersault when the khilafat leaders approached him to find means to average the supposed Khilafat wrongs.

Gandhi handled the Hindu-Muslim problems from the wrong end of the stick, for example, there was no justification for his head long plung into the Khilafat movement. The after effects of his activities in connection with the Pan-Islamic Movement were disastrous as

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1. Mohd. Ali-Jinnah by M.H. Saiyid, Published by Sheikh Md. Ashraf Lahore, 1945 p.60.

they helped to rouse the religio-communal feelings of the Muslims, aggravating antagonism between them and the Hindus. Gandhi succeeded in mobilizing the Muslim orthodox masses for a time but failed in his Pan-Islamic agitation as the Khilafat Movement had no relevance to the time and to the new world. Gandhi now said that it was a question which the Muslims must settle for themselves.

Gandhiji gave a call to the students to come out of schools and colleges during this movement. He said that the schools and colleges must be emptied. Let students remain idle rather than receiving education poisoned by the touch of foreign govt. This was the worst thing that Gandhi did, was to make an emotional appeal to the self respect of the students. Gandhiji should not have join the educational matter with a political issue.

Sir, Asutosh Mukharjee ( then the Vice-Chancellor ) of Calcutta university, criticised Gandhi's attack on education. Jinnah also criticised on this issue. He said that Mr. Gandhi had suggested the students to spin the wheel and go to the villages. What would these

students do there. He charged that Gandhi's non-cooperation movement would mislead the students. Gandhi was however interested only in this non-cooperation programme to capture the leadership of the congress for his own self. The sponsoring of the Pan-Islamic movement by Gandhiji destroyed the Lucknow pact which was the handiwork of Jinnah and prominent Congress leaders. Lucknow pact showed the way for the settlement of Hindu-Muslim Political problem but on the other, the Khilafat Movement by bringing religious fanaticism into political questions prepared the path for future Hindu-Muslim antagonism in a fiercer form.

Gandhiji religio-political activities in this respect were not approved by the leading politicians of the country.

His speeches in support of the Khilafat were disapproved even by his own followers. One of his close associates of those days, Indulal Yajnik said"

".....we had never bargained with Mr. Gandhi to join him in any semi-religious or religio-political movement. We had joined him solely with a view to following him on any path of direct action to wage purely political fights with a view to securing national liberty".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi used Pan-Islamic weapon applying his own principle of non-violent for Indian masses. He said,

"I claim that for both of us, the Khilafat is a central fact, with Maulana Mohd. Ali, because it is his religion, with me because in laying down my life for the Khilafat. I ensure safety of the cow that is my religion, from the Muslim knife."<sup>2</sup>

His calling off the movement (non-cooperation) resulted into communal riots in various places. He was solely

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1. Quoted in Jinnah and Gandhi p.60.

2. Quoted in Gandhi's Mind. p.61.



responsible. Both, Muslims and Hindu blamed him for these riots. Hindus laid the blame at Gandhi's doors: "you asked the Hindus to make common cause with the Muslims on the Khilafat question and now that the 'Khilafat is over, the awakened Muslims have proclaimed a kind of holy war against us Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

On the either hand Muslim said,  
 "we simple minded people have been unjustly treated by your agitation, won over Mohammad Ali to your side and you attacked the famous institution of Aligarh . Your boycott of councils prevented our able men from going to the councils to the prejudice of interest of our community".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi's Pan-Islamic Movement achieved nothing except communalism. of showed the seeds of communalism in India. Neither he could restore Khilafat nor could achieve unity. It was an useless movement.

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1. Tendulkar : Gandhi Vol.2 p.130.

2. Ibid.

It should have not been launched in India where people belonging to different religions were living. It was only a single community issue. Gandhi's movement failed without gaining anything and spread doubts into the hearts of the Indians. He should not have led this movement. If he did so, he should not have withdrawn it. His sudden withdrawal of the movement showed his blunder.

The Khilafat was the issue of the Muslim Community. The Muslims liked this institution (of Khilafat), while it was in its democratic form. The first four khalifas were the example of this institution. When Khilafat changed into hereditary institution and the Khalifa became ~~an~~ an autocrate, its validity weakened. Neither the Turks nor the Arabs wanted it to continue. They were thoroughly disgusted with it. Each Muslim country had its own view on this issue, few liked, others disliked.

Indian Muslims, specially Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sanctioned its validity , when it was deliberately weakened by the British -

government . They launched Khilafat Movement to restore it, but failed. Gandhiji wanted that Muslims should take part in the cause of Swaraj in large numbers. It was he, who brought Muslims under the banner of Congress. As Moin Shakin said "Gandhiji led this movement in order to attract the support of the Muslims for the nationalist cause".<sup>1</sup> Soon he captured power in the congress.

Gandhiji's one desire was to bring Hindu-Muslim unity through this movement. He wrote in his autobiography, "I had realized early enough in south Africa that there was no genuine friendship between the Hindus and the Muslims. I have never missed a single opportunity to remove obstacles in the way of unity".

He again said that without Hindu Muslim Unity freedom could not be achieved.

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1. Moin Shakin; Khilafat to Partition, New Delhi, 1970, p.69.

Gandhiji was also convinced of the justice of the Muslim Cause, that the British Prime Minister had promised during the war. He wanted to secure unity between Hindus and Muslims, so that the British grip in India might be weakened and country might be free as early as possible.

Gandhiji was a worshipper of cow and had full faith in Hindu religion. He wanted to save cow from the Muslims knife, not by force but by love with the Muslims. Once he said ". I believe the cow and my self to be the creation of the same god, and I am prepared to sacrifice my life in order to save the cow".

He advised the Indians that they should show large heartedness. He asked

"British ate beef every day and the British Soliders could not do without beef for a single day. Why then the Hindus hate Muslims alone for beef eating?" Muslims were god fearing that if the Hindus made common cause with them, the Muslims would stop cow slaughter.

In offering to lay down his life for the  
Khilafat, he was ensuring the safety of the cow. To  
him, the attainment of Khilafat through India's power  
was the attainment of Swaraj.

It was Turkey itself who abolished Khilafat,  
and when the issue was over, leadership automatically dis-  
appeared. Thus Gandhis Pan-Islamic Movement was a weapon  
for his Political benefit. Unfortunately, neither he  
could restore Khilafat nor Hindu-Muslim Unity. His move-  
ment , could not achieve, what he desired.

## CHAPTER-IV

### GANDHI'S SENTIMENTAL AND EMOTIONAL APPROACH TOWARDS HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM

#### CHAPTER- IV

"Gandhi possessed a Multi-dimensional personality. He combined in himself not only the dual role of the saint and active politician but also of the social reformer. As a saint he sought to bring "Moral regeneration" particularly to India and to the world at large. In the capacity of a shrewd politician he directed "the latent force of India's Millions" towards the goal of India's independence from British rule".<sup>1</sup>

In the words of Afaq Khan: "He had a deep concern for the emancipation of the country from the various evils plaguing Indian society and corrupting its very life and soul".<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately for India, Gandhiji lived long and led an intensely active life. It touched almost every phase of the nation's activity. His contacts were varied and his experiences unique. He made a gift of his wisdom to the world through his writings and speeches, illustrated by his actions. Einstein wrote.

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1. Gandhi-Maker of Modern India? Problems in Asian Civilization. Ed. by M.D. Levis. (p vii).
  2. Afaq Khan: Gandhian approach to communalism, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, p.1.

"Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".<sup>1</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi was loved and respected by all. He loved not only Indian but the whole world. He showed a path of harmony among the different castes, religions and languages. As D.G. Tendulkar observes :

"He is the one Luminous, Creator of All Mahatma, always in the hearts of the people enshrined, Revealed through Love, Intuition, and Thought, whoever knows Him, Immortal becomes".<sup>2</sup>

No previous century in the long and eventful history of the Indian sub-continent has witnessed such dynamic change in the political, social and economic life of the people as the century that opened with Gandhi's birth and is now drawing to its close. When he was born the British rule had been firmly established in India. The uprising of 1857, variously

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1. Quoted by D.G. Tendulkar in 'Mahatma' Vol.I Life of Mohan das Karamchand Gandhi 1869-1920, Published in Bombay 1951, p.1.

2. D.G. Tendulkar. p. 1.



called the Sepoy Mutiny, the Great Rebellion, or the first war of independence, had merely served to consolidate a commercial adventure into an empire.<sup>1</sup>

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2, October, 1869, at Porbandar, a small town on the western coast of India which was then one of the many princely states in Kathiwar, now better known as Saurashtra, in Gujrat. Mohan was born of a middle class family of Vishya or the trading caste. In Rajkot, Mohandas attended a primary and later a high school. In 1887 he matriculated from the high school and entered a college in Bhavnagar, Gandhiji went to England in 1888, for study of Law. Having passed his examinations, he was called to the bar on June 10, 1891, enrolled in the High Court on June 11 and sailed for India on June 12, 1891.

Mohandas came over to Bombay to set his practice as a Barrister in the great Metropolis of western India. He did not succeed in his practice, so he left Bombay and came back to Rajkot.

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1. Gandhi: A life,

By: Krishna Kripalani, Calcutta, 1968.

After a few months, a Muslim firm of Khathiawar which had large business interests in South Africa offered to send him there for instructing and assisting their counsel in a big lawsuit. Mohan<sup>u</sup>das gladly accepted the offer and made ready to sail for Durban in April 1893. He reached south Africa, facing many humiliations on the way.

In the beginning Gandhi's activities were purely professional in South Africa under a firm of Porbandar Memans then carried on trade in Durban under the name and style of Dada Abdulla. Gandhi Founded The Natal Indian Congress in 1894. Its president was Mr. Abdullah Hajee Adam. The Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians were enrolled in it. Under the auspices of the congress, the Natal Indian Educational Association was formed for the benefit of the young Indians.

Gandhiji spent nearly two years and a half in Natal, mostly doing political work. He returned to India<sup>1</sup> in the middle of the year 1896, to take his family from India. While in India, he wrote, "I wrote a Pamphlet on the condition of Indians in South Africa".<sup>1</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa, p.50.

He met some prominent leaders in India as Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Lokmanya Tilak, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Sir Feroz Shah Mehta, Justice Badruddin Tayyaji, Prof. Bhandarkar etc.

Indians were called in South Africa as 'Coolies'. As Gandhi observed : "We are the 'Asian dirt to be heartily curshed', we are 'squalid coolies with truthless tongues". We are the 'real cancer that is eating into the very vitals of the community. We are Parasites, Semi-barbarous Asiatics". The conditions of Indians in South Africa, distressed him, and he determined to improve them. He went again to South Africa in 1896 and said, "I do not return here with the intention of making money, but of acting as a humble interpreter between the two communities (Hindus and Muslims). There is a great misunderstanding between the communities, and I shall endeavour to fulfil the office of interpreter so long as both the communities do not object to my presence".<sup>2</sup>

During this time, Gandhi's main followers were Arabs. Since the tradesmen from Arab countries were all

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1. M.K. Gandhi : Collected works of M.K. Gandhi Vol.II. pp. 67-68.

2. From : CWMG Vol.II p.163.

Muslims, the Hindu, Gandhi was in reality a leader of Muslims in general. He not only sought for them licences and removal of immigrations restrictions but also sought to resolve specific problems originating from their belief in Islam. These included, by way of example, difficulties encountered by Muslim prisoners in the Transvaal, to observe the Ramzan fast, and the injury to the feelings of Muslims in Pietermaritzburg in not having been able to get the services of a Maulvi for their Mosque, since the Maulvi was dubbed.. a prohibited immigrant' as he did not know any European language.<sup>1</sup>

This involvement of Gandhi with Muslims evoked some opposition from Hindus in South Africa. The latter complained that Muslim problems drew greater attention of the Natal Indian Congress than was necessary. They were also a large number of Muslims holding responsible positions in the Congress.<sup>2</sup> From his concern for Muslims in South Africa There evolved a new consciousness in Gandhi,

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1. From : Gandhi to Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India, 18 Sep. 1909, SN 5083 (P) GSN.

2. From : Gandhi to Ameer Ali 27 Sept. 1909. SM 8016 p GSN .

growing realisation that communal unity was imperative for achieving Indian freedom. Friendly feelings for Muslims as well as for the followers of other faiths, and a desire for Hindu-Muslim unity had existed in his mind from his very childhood.

"Even as a boy at school I had many muslim friends..... I have ever since the days of my youth had I longing to see the differences between the Hindus and the Mussalmans obliterated".<sup>1</sup>

But it was during his stay in South Africa, when he had an opportunity of developing intimate social relations with Indian Muslim traders and others who had settled in Natal and Transvaal, that the general sentiment of goodwill for the Muslims grew into the spirit of true and sincere friendship for them ;

"When I was in South Africa, I came in close touch with Muslim brethren there... I was able to learn their habits, thoughts and aspirations..... I had lived in the midst of Muslim friends for 20 years. They treated me as a member of their family and told their wives and sisters that they need not observe Purdah with me".<sup>2</sup>

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1. From : Gandhi and Communal Unity p.53.

2. Gandhi and Communal unity op.cit . p.54.

It was due to the intimate friendship Gandhiji had developed with Muslims that inspired confidence in them and he was able to win the general support of the whole Muslim community. He was so close <sup>with</sup> the Muslim community that he thought to put to experiment his theory of non-violence in the struggle for securing some elementary civic rights for Indian settlers in South Africa.

Gandhi's office became the headquarters of the social workers. He issued a spate of appeals and reports to the Transvaal, Natal and British authorities, and to leaders like Dadhabhai Naoroji and G.K. Gokhale as well as to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London. He wrote to the Indian newspapers about the anti-Indian Laws which affected the Indian traders licences, immigration, residential locations bazars, indentured labour, permits and Franchise. The first thing Gandhi wanted to do was to establish an institution to voice the grievances of the people. So he immediately founded the British Indian Association of which he became the secretary and Abdul Gani, the President. Gandhi started a weekly news paper 'Indian opinion' on June 4, 1903 with the help of Madanjit, a Nagar Brahmin from Junagarh. About its aims and objects, Gandhi said ". We need to offer no apology for making an appearance.

The Indian community in South Africa is a recognised factor in the body politic, and a newspaper, ventilating its feelings and specially devoted to its cause, would hardly be considered out of place; indeed, we think it, would supply a longbelated want".<sup>1</sup> In the first week of August 1906, the colonial secretary, Duncan, informed the Transvaal legislative of Government's intention to introduce a Bill to re-register Asiatics in the Transvaal. The ordinance was published in the Govt. gazette Extraordinary of August 26, 1906.

According to the new ordinance, every Indian, man, woman and child of eight years or upwards must register his or her name and give finger-prints at the office on the pass which he would have to carry on his person. At the final stage, however, the govt. declared that it would not apply to women.

The ordinance threw a new challenge to the leaders of the British Indians. Denouncing it outright, Gandhi said the Black Ordinance would spell ruin for the Indians as it was the first step to bound the Indians out

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1. CWMG Vol. III. p.313.

of the Transvaal. He organised a meeting on Sep.11,1906 under the presidentship of a Muslim leader, Mr. Abdul G to consider the steps to be taken to meet the grave crisis. During the course of the meeting Seth Haji Habib, a very old Muslim resident of South Africa, made a memorable speech "Making a Solemn declaration with God as witness, that he would never submit to that Law and advised all present to do life wise".

This shook Gandhiji as never before and plunged him into deep-reflection out of which the idea of satyagraha was born. He explained to the audience the serious implications of taking a vow in the name of God;

"We all believe in one and the same God, the difference of nomenclature in Hinduism and Islam and withstanding . The pledge ourselves with Him as witness is not something to be trifled with. If taking that oath we trifle with it, we are guilty before God and man".<sup>1</sup>

Warnings were given by the Govt. not to arrange any such meetings again, but Gandhi said, "we may have to go to Jail, where we may be insulted. We may have to go

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1. CIWMO Vol. VI. p.62.



hungry and suffer extreme heat or cold, hard labour may be imposed on us".<sup>1</sup>

Inspite of all these warnings the meeting unanimously passed the resolution "with upraised hands in the name of God". He was encouraged by the unity of sentiments and purpose, the spirit of mutual friendship and trust shown at the meeting among Hindus, parsis, Muslims and Christians, in South Africa.

Gandhi launched his first Satyagraha Campaign, which was at the same time his first experiment in securing the fraternal cooperation of Muslims, who did not regard Ahimsa as a part of their religious faith, for a non-violent struggle, that involved the utmost suffering and sacrifice. He was delighted to find that the response from them was no less enthusiastic than from Hindus and the followers of other faiths. In fact some of the bravest and the staunchest soldier in the non-violent war that was waged in South Africa, under Gandhi's command were Muslims.

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1. See: C.W.M.G. Vol. VI. p.63.

One of them was Ahmad Mohammad Kachhalia. It was at a critical time, when Gandhi wanted to resume the satyagrah movement after a temporary suspension and many well-intentioned sceptics were doubtful about the resumption of the struggle, that Seth Kachhalia's true worth revealed itself :

"I do not remember a single occasion on which he betrayed weakness or doubt about the final result. A time came when Yusuf Mian was not ready to continue at the helm in troubled waters we all with one voice acclaimed Kachhalia as our captain and from that time onwards, to the end, he held unflinchingly to his responsible post. He fearlessly put up with hardships which would have daunted almost any other man in his place".<sup>1</sup>

The other Muslim whom Gandhiji specially mention as model Satayagrahis was Imam Abdul Qadir Bavazir :

"Among those who thus courted arrest was our Imam Shqheb.... who was arrested for hawking without a licence and sentenced.....to imprisonment for four days with hard labour.

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa p.65.

Imam Saheb's health was so delicate that people laughed when they heard of his courting arrest.... Imam Saheb never walked barefooted, was fond of good things of the earth.....

After he was released Imam Saheb went to Jail again, lived there as an ideal prisoner and took his meals after a spell of hard labour". As a prisoner he broke stones, worked as a Sweeper and stood in line with other prisoners".<sup>1</sup>

Fortunately, "Imam Saheb" became a life-long friend and constant companion of Gandhi. When Gandhiji came back to India and stayed at the Sabarmati Ashram, Imam Saheb built himself a house close to the Ashram and used to participate in all its activities including the morning and the evening 'Prarthana' which he regularly attended after saying the prayers prescribed by Islam at home.

Gandhiji enjoyed the confidence and sincere affection of all sections of Muslims and their loyal

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Satyagrah in South Africa p.65.

support through the first Satyagraha Campaign in South Africa, unfortunately, serious difference of opinion between him and the small Pathan Community arose in Johannesburg and Durban, over the compromise settlement he had made with the Govt. of General Smuts while trying to get it endorsed by the whole Indian community.

Early in 1908, when Gandhiji was in Jail in Johannesburg, he received an emissary from General Smuts who proposed that if the Indian community ended the Satyagrah, government would soon repeal the Black Act. Gandhiji accepted the proposed settlement after consulting the responsible leaders of the Indian Community. The next morning Gandhiji and some other Indians, including Yusuf Mian, the Chairman of the Satyagraha Association, were approaching the Registration office to register their names. Mr. Alam and some other Pathans tried to prevent them from doing so. Mir Alam attacked Gandhiji and dealt him a severe blow. The other Pathans also joined him in ruthlessly beating up Gandhiji and his companions, Gandhi was seriously wounded, was taken by one of the Europeans to his home and a doctor was immediately called to attend on him. Gandhi's first thought was to avert the possible danger of this incident leading Hindu-Muslim Conflict :

"Those who have committed the act did not know what they were doing. They thought that I was doing what was wrong. They have had their redress in the only manner they know. I therefore, request that no steps be taken against them. He said again

"Seeing that the assault was committed by a Mussalman or Mussalmans, the Hindus might probably feel hurt. If so, they would put themselves in the wrong before the world and their Maker. Rather let the blood split<sup>†</sup> today cement the two communities indissolubly such is my heartfelt prayer. May God grant it,"<sup>1</sup>

But it should not be assumed that all pathans in South Africa were impervious to Gandhiji's plea for non-violence like those in Johannesburg and Durban. There were some like Syed Ibrahim, a simple labourer in New Castle, who had been so deeply influenced by Gandhi's precept and example that they could tame their violent nature into taking a thrashing without retaliation in the course of the Satyagraha Campaign. /

The greatest success that Gandhiji achieved in his mission of Love in South Africa to bring about what he called "heart unity" between the various religious

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1. Quoted by P. Brij Nath Sharga: Gandhi his life and teachings. Lucknow. 1950, p.95.

communities of Indians, specially between Hindus and Muslims, was in the field of education. During the second phase of the movement, which proved to be much longer than the first, Gandhiji was faced with the Problem of taking care of the families of the Satyagrahis who were in Jail. So, he established, in 1910, a cooperative farm in a plot of land near Johannesburg purchased by his friend and Comrade Mr. Kallenbach under the name of Tolstoy Farm. There he settled with some of his friends and the wives and children of the Satyagrahis undergoing sentences of imprisonment. In this "cooperative commonwealth" every body worked at the farm, in the press or in some other departments, like those of carpentary, sandal making, etc. so that he could provide himself and his companions with all the needs of their simple life without any help from outside.

One of the many problems Gandhiji had to face in the Tolstoy farm was the education of children from the various parts of India speaking different languages and professing different faiths. He had to tackle their problems almost single handed, with occasional help from Mr. Kallenbach and one or two other persons, improvising his own books and other teachings aids. The most difficult task was that of teaching religion to Hindu, Muslim and Parsi Children in

such a way that each would learn the tenets of his own faith and at the same time have an understanding of, and respect for those of others. But Gandhiji faced it in a very active way:

"Religious teaching presented another touchy problem. I would like Mussalmans to read the Koran, and Parsis the Avesta. There was one Khoja Child, whose father had laid upon me the responsibility of teaching him a small Pothi of the sect. I collected books bearing on Islam and Zoroastrianism. I wrote out the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism according to my lights... "<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi thought that the essential teachings of all great religions of the world were the same and that led to the evolution of one of the fundamental principles- that of the equality of all religions; and on the other side it gave a conclusive proof that real heart unity between the various religious and linguistic communities of India could be achieved through a proper training of boys and girls at early age, Gandhiji's own assessment of its real value is :

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1. M.K. Gandhi, Satyagraha in South Africa p 242.

"This teaching experiment was not fruitless. The children were saved from the infection of intolerance, and learnt to view one another's religions and customs with a large-hearted charity. They learnt how to live together like blood-brothers. They imbibed the lessons of mutual service, courtesy and industry"<sup>1</sup>.

The best illustration of the "large-hearted charity" and "Mutual service and courtesy" that the training at the Tolstoy Farm School Created in the minds of the Children was provided by their behaviour during the days when the period of Ekadashi fast according to the Hindu Calendar and that of the Ramzan fast according to the Islamic Calendar happened to coincide :

"Many observed the Ekadashi fast on the Farm, we are joined there by Shri P.K. Kotval who had much experience of fasting, and some of us followed him to keep Chaturmas. Ramzan also arrived in the meanwhile. There were Mussalman Youngsters among us, and we felt we must encourage them to keep the fasts. We arranged for them to have meals in the evening as well as in the early morning, porridge, etc. were prepared for them in the evening. There was no meat of course , nor did any one ask for it. To keep the Mussalman friends company the rest of

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa p 245.



us had only one meal a day in evening. As a rule we finished our evening meal before sunset; so the only difference was that the others finished their supper when the Mussalman boys commenced theirs ".<sup>1</sup>

The second phase of the Satyagraha movement concluded, more or less successfully with the passing of the Indian Relief Bill early in 1914, and Gandhi left South Africa for good for England on his way back to India. He had the satisfaction of having performed his experiments, Truth and love successfully on a laboratory scale in South Africa and was prepared to continue them on a large scale in India.

On his return to India, Gandhiji highlighted his identity with South African Muslim thus : "I went to South Africa for the case of a Muslim brother. After going there and having made my permanent or semi-permanent home there that was done at the instance of many Mussalman brethren- I have been thinking of their political troubles. I had seen their difficulties".<sup>2</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Satyagraha in South Africa p.247.

2. Bombay Police Abstracts, Para, 665, 1919. Quoted in Source material of the Freedom Movement in India Vol.31. Bombay 1958. p.125.

Gandhiji returned to India with the determination to carry on his experiments in Ahimsa, and in Hindu-Muslim unity as an important part of Ahimsa :

"I landed next year (1915) in India with ideas of Hindu-Mohammedan unity and the Turkish Question, and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions. There are two things to which I am devoting my life permanent unity between Hindus and Mohammedans, and Satyagraha; to Satyagraha probably more, for it covers a much wider field. It is an all-embracing movement and if we accepted the law of Satyagraha, unity will come of itself".<sup>1</sup>

Why Gandhiji regarded Satyagraha and Hindu-Muslim unity as two of the cardinal points of his mission for the political freedom and spiritual regeneration of India ? It has been proved in his experiments in South-Africa that Satyagraha as the most effective weapon of non-violence to fight untruth in all its forms was the very soul of Non-violence, and uniting the whole Indian community (of which the Muslims formed a considerable part).

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1. Ibid p.128.

On his arrival in India, when he was thinking of carrying on his experiment in Truth and Non-violence on a far larger scale and for a much greater purpose. of his historic mission of liberating India from foreign domination, the turn directives of Hindu-Muslim-unity and Satyagraha were even more important and more urgent than they had been in South Africa.

At a later stage in 1919 he said :

"with this object I came to India, to find out such Moslem brethren who would give their lives for truth and for unity between Hindus and Mussalmans".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi had hardly any contact among the Indian Muslims. He was very eager to meet the Ali brothers- Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who were to become his close associates at a subsequent stage but were then in jail . He finally managed to get their address at the congress of 1915 and expressed his sympathy: "It was during the congress session that I was able to get your address. I wanted to write to you to say how my heart went out to you in your troubles. Pray let me know if I can be of any service to you".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See : Report of a Speech by Gandhi in Bombay, 9 May, Bombay Police Abstract. 1919 Para 665. Source Material. op.cit. Vol.3. pt. I p 125.

2. Gandhi to Mohd. Ali. Ali Papers- January 9, 1916-Moh/L-21

Gandhi was, however, not permitted to meet them. Two years later, he publicly came forward to champion their cause by demanding their release at the first Gujrat Political Conference on Nov.3, 1917.

"It is hoped", he said, "that the Government will accede to the people's desire for their (Ali brothers) release .....The act of generosity will be incomplete so long as these brothers are not released. The grant of freedom to the brothers will gladden the people's hearts and endear the government to them".<sup>1</sup>

This was followed by Gandhi's ardent call to both Hindus and Muslims (at a Muslim League Meeting on 31 December, 1917 in Calcutta) to make the same appeal to the Government on behalf of the Muslim leaders. At this meeting he announced amidst warm applause from his Muslim audience that Hindus were fully at one with the Muslims in raising the demand for the Ali brothers' release.<sup>2</sup>

1. C.W.M.G. Vol. 14. p.51.

(Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi ).

2. See : Gandhi: A Challenge to Communalism by Gargi Chakravartty .New Delhi 1987, p.29. The Bombay Chronicle. 1 January 1918, Quoted in CWMG Vol.14 p.120.

A year earlier Gandhi had visited a Muslim leader of Sind, the Pir of Lauwari, with whose followers he had worked in South Africa. The Government assumed that Mr. Gandhi wished to stir up the Pir to anti-British activities.<sup>1</sup> In November of the same year (1916), Gandhi had attended a Muslim meeting at Aligarh where he categorically declared that concessions wrested by Indians in South Africa were the direct result of Hindu-Muslim Cooperation, and that India would attain self-govt. only if the two communities unitedly strived for independence. "The plea of benefit to the community would be of no avail to procure Home Rule unless unity prevailed among them".<sup>2</sup>

At that time (his arrival in India) the political situation in the country was a critical one. The movement for freedom started by the Indian National Congress which had so far been a forum for a small group of modern educated Indian leaders to formulate and convey<sup>st</sup> to the British rulers some modest political aspirations of the Indian people. It was, under the leadership of Lokmanya Tilak, tending to become a more popular organization beginning to think of "Swaraj" as its objective and

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1. Home/Pol./Al September, 1916, Nos. 193-4 also Quoted in Gandhi: A Challenge to Communalism. p.29

2. Bombay Police Abstract, 1917, Para 1293, Quoted in Source Material op.cit. Vol.3, pt. I. p.70.

Public agitation as its instrument. Gandhiji's mission was facing the double threat of being blocked by the separatist policy of a large section of the Muslim minority encouraged by the British Government and being side-tracked by the revolutionary activities of the Ghadar Party and other such groups frittering their immense fund of zeal and energy in sporadic violence:

"To Gandhi both appeared to be most serious dangers to his mission of liberty through love, so it was no wonder that the winning over of the Muslims to the cause of national unity and of the whole nation to the use of Satyagraha as the most effective weapon in the national struggle for freedom acquired so much importance and urgency for him".<sup>1</sup>

As a prodical idealist Gandhiji had realised that before he approached the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity in India he should closely study the thoughts, sentiments and aspirations of the Muslims and try to win their confidence and affection

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1. S. Abid Hussain : Gandhi and Communal Unity, New Delhi p 70.

"I must labour to discover the Mussalman mind. The closer I come to the best of Mussalmans, the juster I am likely to be in my estimate of the Mussalmans and their doings. I am striving to become the best cement between the two communities. My longing is to be able to cement the two with my blood, if necessary. But, before I can do so, I must prove to the Mussalmans that I love them as well as I love the Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji tried to come in contact with Muslims for knowing their's attitude and to cultivate friendly relations with them whom he considered to be the best representatives of the Muslim community:

"I had met them (the Ali brothers ) only once or twice, though I had heard much about them. Every one had spoken highly of their services and their courage. I had not then come in close touch with Hakim Saheb, but principal Rudra and Dinabandhu Andrews had told me a great deal in his praise. I had met Mr. Shuaib Qureshi and Mr. Khwaja at the Muslim league office in Calcutta. I had also come in contact with Dr. Ansari and Abdur Rahman, I was seeking the friendship

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1. Young India, Sep.23, 1921.  
Quoted also in Gandhi and Communal Unity by S.Abid Husain p.70.

of good Mussalmans, and was eager to understand the Muslim mind through contact with their purest and most patriotic representatives, I therefore never needed any pressure to go with them wherever they took me, in order to get into intimate touch with them".<sup>1</sup>

The contact with these outstanding representatives of the Muslims, confirmed him in the view which he had already formed in London that the question of saving Turkey from the vengeance of Great Britain and her allies for preserving the integrity of the Turkish Khilafat was at the moment regarded as the most crucial by Indian Muslims. Referring to his arrival in London on August 6, 1914, on his way to India, Gandhiji gives the background to his interest in the Turkish question :

"I found the Mohammedans residing in London equally agitated. One morning, we read the news that Turkey had joined Germany, I had not leisure then to study the Turkish question, and pronounce judgement on the Turkish action. I simply prayed that India might be saved from the turmoil. Having had to explain to the Mohammedan friends in South Africa the events of the Tripoli war and having understood their sentiments. I had no difficulty in gauging Mohammedan sentiment over the Turkish Choice".<sup>2</sup>

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1. M.K.Gandhi . The way to Communal Harmony Compiled by U.R. Rao. Navjivan Publishing House 1963,p.5.
  2. M.K. Gandhi: The Way to Communal Harmony p.124.



In compliance with a resolution that Gandhi had taken, on the advice of his political Guru Gokhale, he spent a whole year in taking stock of the political and social conditions in India without actively participating in Public life. During his study tour, he found among other things, that the relations between the politically minded Hindus and Muslims had considerably improved during the last three years (1915-1917) . The Muslim League, which was the Chief instrument of implementing separatist policy that the vested interests amongst Muslims had adopted at the instigation of the British Government, was undergoing a change and coming closer to the Indian National Congress. In 1915, the Nationalist elements in the Muslim League, headed by its president Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah succeeded in holding its annual session in Bombay simultaneously with that of the National Congress and in passing a resolution to set up a committee to draft, in consultation with the Congress, a scheme of political reform for India. Next year the two organisations held their sessions simultaneously in Lucknow where they passed the joint reform scheme as well as the Lucknow pact, giving Muslims considerable weightage in their representation in the legislative bodies<sup>1</sup>.

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1. See I (Hindu and Communal Unity by M. Abid Hussain, pp. 70-71

Never before, since the Revolt of 1857, had Hindus and Muslims been united together by common ties.

The League appointed a committee to prepare a scheme for India in consultation with the congress. At Lucknow the League and the congress again held their annual sessions at the same place and time. In the period which had intervened between the Bombay and the Lucknow sessions the committee had prepared the scheme. The congress was strengthened by the bridging of the breach between the Moderates and the progressives which had occurred nine years before at Surat in 1907, and so it was attended not only by the moderate leaders like Surendranath Banarjee, and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya but also by Lokmanya Tilak. The Lucknow Pact was entered into between the Indian National congress and the All India Muslim League in December 1916 and a joint demand was put before the British government comprising two parts, one dealing with separate electorates and representation of Muslims in Legislatures and the other with political demands for a share in the Government of the country to be enjoyed by the people. Mr. Jinnah was president of the session of the League and on the congress side all the leaders including Lokmanya Tilak approved the pact.

Dr. B.S. Moonje, Sapru, Malviya and some Moderates had opposed Tilak for granting Sanction to the principle of weightage. Tilak wanted to take advantage of the situation and was eager for compromise with the Muslims to present a united demand to the British. He said to a fellow delegate, but to avoid a triangular fight. He added that the Hindus had overthrown Muslim rule in the past and would do so again if such a situation arose. Gokhale had, in his testament, supported the need for separate and direct representation of Mohammadans, and other minority communities.

The essential features of the scheme may be briefly stated :

- I. The Council of the Secretary of state for India shall be abolished and he shall occupy the same position in regard to the Government of India as the Secretary of state for the colonies does in relation to the Governments of the self-governing colonies.
- II. Half of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be Indians elected by the elected members of the imperial legislative council.

- III. Four-Fifth of the members of the Imperial legislative council shall be elected, and one-third of these shall be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates.
- IV. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of the province.
- V. Except in Military and foreign affairs the Imperial Legislative Council shall have full control over the government of India.
- VI. Four-fifths of the members of the provincial Legislative councils shall be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible. The number of Mahomedan members was specifically laid down province by Province, and they were to be elected by Separate Mahommedan electorates.
- VII. The Provincial Legislative Council shall have full control over the provincial Government, the head of which shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian civil service or any of the permanent services.

- VIII. No Legislative council shall proceed with any Bill or Resolution if threefourths of the members of any Community are opposed to it on the ground that it adversely affects its interest.
- IX. Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest court of that Province".<sup>1</sup>

The joint scheme was hailed as establishing the Hindu-Muslim unity on a solid foundation by solving the knotty problem of the representation of the two communities in the various legislatures. Thus the Muslims gained all the points which were persistently demanded by them and against which the moderate and national leaders had hitherto struggled with equal obstinacy, though in vain.

The pact was blessed by Lokmanya Tilak, now the undisputed leader of the congress and, in fact of the whole country, He remarked :

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1. Quoted in struggle for Freedom by R.C.Majumdar pp. 247-48.

"It has been said that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Muslim brethren. I am sure, I represent the sense of the whole Hindu community in India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Muslim community only".<sup>1</sup>

In his presidential speech at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League Jinnah exhorted upon his audience to act in Cooperation with the Hindus for the political upliftment of the country. The words used by him were as follows :

"Towards the Hindus our attitude should be of goodwill and brotherly feelings. Cooperation to the cause of our motherland should be our guiding principle. India's real progress can only be achieved by a true understanding and harmonious relations between the two great sister communities"<sup>2</sup>

His services in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and his efforts to bring the congress and the league together were much appreciated all over the country

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1. Mahatma (in 8 volumes )  
Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by G.D. Tandulkar  
Published by Vithalbai K. Jhaveri. Bombay (1951-54)  
Vol.I. p.234.
  2. Quoted in ;Jinnah and Gandhi their role in India's  
Quest by S.K. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1966, p.23.

among all sections of the people. Gokhale paid him glowing tributes in the following words :

"He has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which will make him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity".

The Lucknow pact was a symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity. Mr. M.R. Jaykar said that the achievement of Lucknow pact was a memorable event. It showed that the Hindus and the Muslims could unite to make a common political demand on the British Government. Vital concessions were made to Muslim sentiments. Confining our attention to the three main demands of the Muslim, viz, separate electorate, extent of Muslim representation and safeguards, the pact conceded that adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities and the Muslims should be represented through special electorates.<sup>1</sup>

Pt. Jagat Narain, the Chairman of the reception committee of the Congress, described the happy achievements of Lucknow and said that the present year would be a

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1. M.R. Jaykar : Story of My life, p.160.Vol.I. Quoted also in Jinnah and Gandhi p.25.

memorable one in the history of our political evolution. For the first time, since the unfortunate split at Surat, we witnessed the spectacle of a United Congress.<sup>1</sup> The Lucknow Pact was an emphatic refutation of the theories that agreement between Hindus and Muslims was impossible under any circumstance, because of their religious differences. The pact showed that there was no inherent, infallible, impossible barrier which could not yield to the spirit of accommodation, common sense and reason.

Though the principle of weightage was useful for maintaining the Hindu-Muslim unity, but the Muslims of Punjab and Bengal (Muslim Majority Provinces) were not satisfied by it. As Hindus were given weightage in Punjab and Bengal, the Muslims of these Provinces revolted against Jinnah for diminishing their representation.

Aurobindo Ghose, criticising the Lucknow pact, deserved," that it was not Swadeshi but the acceptance of the communal principle that created the Hindu-Muslim

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1. Ibid, p.27.



split and here Tilak made his great blunder".

Arbindo was also of the opinion that the greatness of India's past or her spirituality should not be thrown into the waste paper basket in order to conciliate the Muslims who would not at all be conciliated by such policy".<sup>1</sup>

Inspite of all these criticism, the Lucknow pact was a blessing for both the communities-Hindus and Muslims. Both the communities were satisfied with this pact. Their seats were reserved in the colleges and universities. Political representations was given to them in the legislatures. The Muslims were so satisfied by this pact, that they had abandoned the cow-slaughter and had begun to take part in Hindus festivals and processions willingly. On the other hand the Hindus also did the same. It had actually laid the foundation of a permanent Hindu-Muslim unity. When the Lucknow pact was being finalized, the Home Rule Movement was started by Mrs. Besant and it was the impact of the Lucknow pact, that Jinnah the president of Muslim League joined this movement. When Mrs. Besant was arrested, Jinnah became

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1. Mitra, Sisir Kumar : The Liberator, Sri Arbindo Ghosh, India and the world. pp 171-72.

the president of this movement with Mr. Jaykar as its Secretary.

Jinnah's message as the president of the Home Rule League was as follows :

"My Message to the Mussalmans is to join hands with your Hindu brethern. My Message to the Hindus is to lift your backward brother up. In that spirit let the foundation of the Home Rule league be consecrated and there is nothing for us to fear".<sup>1</sup>

In a crowded Mass-Meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Association on the 30th July, 1917, Jinnah spoke as follows :

"..... We protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers not only on principle but also because it is an attempt to intern the Home Rule or self-Govt Scheme of reforms framed and adopted conjointly by the Indian National congress and the All India Muslim League at Lucknow".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted in Jinnah and Gandhi : p.37.

2. Ibid.

At this time Gandhi's reputation as a leader was at its height and Jinnah himself, in one of the meetings of the Home Rule Proposed the name of Gandhi to be president of the Home Rule League. After assuming the presidency of the league, Gandhi called a meeting of the members to change the name and creed of the league. He proposed the name of the Home rule league to that of Swarajya Sabha. Jinnah and other founder members opposed Gandhi's proposals. But Gandhi as Chairman of the meeting, overruled their objections and declared in an uncompromising tone :

"It was open to any member, be he a life-Member or otherwise, to resign his membership if he thought he could not remain a member of the Sabha. Under its altered constitution".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi's arbitrary action in changing the name and creed of the Home-Rule League was resented by Jinnah and several other prominent Leaguers who resigned from the League in protest. The protest was signed, among others, by a powerful opposition consisting of Jinnah. Jaykar , Jamnadas Dwarikadas, Mangaldas Pakvasa, Nagindas Master

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1. Quoted in : Gandhi and Jinnah p.38.

and K.M. Munshi and others.

Neither Mrs. Besant, nor, Mr. Jinnah ever forgave Gandhiji for his depriving the Home Rule League of all its ideals and aspirations . Through religious speeches, Gandhi advocated for Hindu-Muslim Unity, but this dream of Gandhi was broken by the riots which occurred very soon in 1917. Communal riots broke out in Arrah on a scale so extensive and with a virulence so startling that upto the time nothing like them had been heard of in the history of India.

In 1918, another serious Hindu-Muslim riot brokeout in Katarpur, in the Saharanpur district of the United provinces. The main factor, to be noted, in this connection was that in 1918 Hindus and Muslims had been absolutely United in political objective for almost five years, and that therefore their social relations had much improved and their religious bitterness much lessened, still the nation as a whole remained helpless to save itself from external underhand Machination. The reason of this helplessness was that the upper and educated classes took no or little interest in the life of the common people, and the Congress, engrossed in political matters could

not give any effective direction to save itself from these frank attacks.

Gandhiji found that the greatest obstacle in the way of a lasting understanding and friendship between the Hindus and Muslims was the frequent occurrence of violent clashes between some sections of the two communities. The Hindus and the Muslims fought and killed each other, with the result that the whole atmosphere would be poisoned, and a state of tension would prevail between the two communities almost throughout the country. This led Gandhiji to think that the first and the most necessary step that had to be taken in order to clear the way for lasting peace and amity between the two major communities was to find out the causes that led to disunity and try to eliminate them.

Gandhi regarded mutual love and harmony between Hindus and Muslims in India a necessary condition for their being able to lead a healthy religious life. So it was natural that violent clashes between the two communities should appear to him, as symptoms of a spiritual malady which ought to be immediately checked

if sanity of the religious spirit was to be preserved. When people committed murder and arson, looted houses and shops and even desecrated places of worship in the name of religion, it looked as if a canker was eating into and destroying the inner kernal of their religious faith. If this state of things continued it would kill the true spirit of religions, which would mean the death of India, In Gandhi's words -

"If religion dies then India dies. Today Hindus and Muslims are clinging to the husk of religion. They have gone mad. But I hope this is all forth. The scum has come to the surface as happens when the waters of two rivers meet. Everything appears Muddy on top; but underneath it is crystal clear and calm. The scum goes to sea of itself and the rivers mingle and flow clear and pure".<sup>1</sup>

He did not have the slightest doubt that those who take part in communal riots or instigate them by indulging in hymns of hate, do no good to their own community. People who begin with hating members of the other community may end with hating and fighting and

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1. M.K. Gandhi : The way of Communal Harmony, p.48.

killing members of their own faith owing to differences  
 Political, social or economic views, or clash of group  
 interest or Personal interest. "The Hindu thinks that in  
 quarrelling with the Mussalman he is benefiting Hinduism  
 and the Mussalman thinks that in fighting a Hindu he is  
 benefiting Islam. But each is ruining his faith. And the  
 poison has spread among the members of the communities  
 themselves, and no wonder for one cannot do right in one  
 department of life whilst he is doing wrong in another  
 life is one and indivisible ".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi had found that the mutual hatred was neither  
 a permanent state of Hindu-Muslim relations nor the primary  
 cause of the communal conflicts. The two communities  
 had lived, on the whole, peacefully together for hundreds  
 of years and continued to do so in the normal course of  
 life. It was only occasionally that they were thrown in  
 the fit of madness that made them hate and fight each other

"My experience of India tells me that Hindus  
 and Muslims know how to live at peace among  
 themselves. I refuse to believe that they

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1. M.K. Gandhi : The way of Communal harmony p.10.

have said good bye to their senses so as to make it impossible to live at peace with each other".<sup>1</sup>

According to Gandhi's analysis it is mutual distrust born of fear that lurks in the minds of members of both communities, and comes out in the disguise of hatred every time it finds an occasion to do so. This hidden fear expressing itself in acts of Cowardice by some members of the one or the other community, and cowardice always invites violence :

"These cases have nothing to do with inveterate enmity, between the Hindus and the Muslims. Where there are fools, there are bound to be cowards , where there are cowards, there are bound to be bullies whether Hindus or Muslims".<sup>2</sup>

In another place, Gandhi goes a little deeper into the psychology of fear as the real motive behind the extreme violence or terrorism which is a common feature of communal riots :

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1. See: Gandhi and Communal Unity, p.24.

2. M.K. Gandhi : Young India, Sep, 18, 1924, p.308.



"The more I go about in these parts, the more, I find that your worst enemy is fear. It eats into the vitals of the terror stricken as well as the terrorist. The latter fears something in his victim. It may be the different religion or his riches that the fears.

Again he says -

"We fly at each other's throats in cowardice and fear. The Hindu distrusts the Mussalman through cowardice and fear and the Mussalman distrusts the Hindu through equal cowardice and imaginary fears".<sup>1</sup>

There is more specific reference to the feelings of distrust and fear that the Hindu and the Muslim communities entertained towards each other :

another

"I know that there is much, too much, distrust of one/ yet many Hindus distrust the Mussalman's honesty. They believe that Swaraj means Mussalman Raj for they argue that without the British, the Muslims of India will aid Muslim power to build a Mussalman Empire in India. The Mussalmans, on the other hand, fear that the Hindus, being in overwhelming majority, will smother them".<sup>2</sup>

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1. M.K. Gandhi Y.I. p 273.

2. M.K. Gandhi : Y.I. p.148.

In Gandhi's opinion, the trouble may start with the alleged or actual desecration of a place of worship, or a clash between processions (religious or non-religious) of two groups of people belonging to the two communities or even a personal quarrel between a Hindu and a Muslim. But it soon develops into a full fledged communal riot because the lurking fear in the minds of both the Hindus and the Muslims, stirs their fancy into imagining all sorts of horrible acts that could be committed by the members of the other community.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji wanted to bring them (Hindu and Muslim) disciplined and non-violent way of resisting without killing or injuring the opponent, which is a far superior and the only effective way of checking communal disturbances and restoring inner peace in the minds of the people, as well as outward peace in the disturbed area :

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1. See : S. Abid. Hussain op.cit. pp 26-27.

"In all the Hindus listend to my advice or in the alternative all the Mussalmans listened to me there would be peace in India which neither dagger nor Lathis would be able to shatter. The mischief maker would soon be weary of the sorry business of stabling when there is no retaliation or counter-provocation".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi suggested that there should be peace Brigades, which would solve the problems of communal riots under the oath of Truth and Ahims . There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated peace Brigade, so that in course of time, they would be recognized without the slightest difficulty.<sup>2</sup>

Gandhiji explained the duty of Newspaper men who were also responsible for the communal riots. They should avoid publishing anything beyond bare facts, specially anything that excited inter-communal hatred,

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1. Quoted in Gandhi and Communal Unity, p.29.

2. M.K. Gandhi: The way of Communal Harmony, p.202.

and even factual reports about communal riots should be carefully considered at the joint meeting of newspapers before publication :

"I am sorry that there is poison administered to the public by some newspapers. Newspapers today have almost replaced the Bible, the Koran, the Gita and other religious scriptures. I hold it the duty of newspapermen to give nothing but facts to their readers..... They should appoint a joint Board to which all reports about communal trouble would be submitted and even passed on to the responsible ministers and when necessary given for publication".<sup>1</sup>

But withholding the names of parties to a communal clash as practised by our newspapers when reporting such clashes, sometimes with all their gruesome details, appeared to Gandhi to be not only quite senseless but even harmful as it can lead to misunderstanding and sometimes may amount to misrepresentation. These words deserve to be seriously considered by newspapermen as well as by press Advisers of the Govt.

For this purpose Gandhi advised to members of both the communities to make a central peace committee

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1. M.K. Gandhi: The way of communal harmony, p.203.

for checking the communal riots. He said ;

"The central peace committee should consolidate results so far achieved. They have to see that poor Muslims are rehabilitated, just as the Hindus have to be rehabilitated in the areas from which they have been evacuated. Local peace Committees should be set up in each Mohalla, and they must find out at least one Hindu and one Muslim of clean heart to work together. Those committees should tour the areas under their jurisdiction. They should work to create the feeling of friendliness wherever it is lacking".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi had argued for the Punishment to those persons who were responsible to instigate communal riots. This punishment might be by society or by the government, as he stated:

"If some people have committed grievous mistakes in their dealings with their neighbours, they should repent and ask for their pardon to God. If he granted it but the world did not, even then it did not matter to a man who had learnt to depend on God ; such punishment, nobly borne, serves to elevate a man".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted in Gandhi and Communal unity, p.34.

2. Quoted in Gandhi and Communal Unity, p.34.

A guilty person should not hide his guilt and he should confess his guilt willingly. He advised them :

"As a mark of repentance you (Criminal) should surrender yourselves to the police and bear the punishment that may be meted out to you. Even otherwise it is in your interest to surrender for if the Govt. and the police do their duty- which, they must to justify their existence, you will be arrested sooner or later. A voluntary surrender is bound to win you consideration from the court"<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji approach to Hindu-Muslim Unity which he regarded as Article of Faith for himself and for all those who, like him, believed in Truth and Non-violence, was essentially different from that of the politicians who treated it as a matter of political expediency, Gandhiji opposed, that there was only one religion and one culture throughout the country. Realising that in the present age, it was not possible to have a single religion for a number of groups of diverse faiths, they thought at least a single

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1. Quoted in Gandhi and communal unity, p.34.

2. Ibid, pp 35-36.

culture could be imposed on all communities (including the Muslim community) to weld them into one, solid, strong nation. Gandhi's first objection was that it could not be proved that there was any period in Indian history when uniformity of religion or culture existed and he was inclined to think that the cultural pattern in India always was or tended to be a harmonious blend of different cultures, presenting a beautiful picture of unity in diversity. He said : " Either people of different faiths having lived together in friendship have produced a beautiful blend of cultures (of) which we shall strive to perpetuate and increasingly strengthen the shape, or we shall cast about for the day when there was only one religion represented in Hindustan and retrace our steps to that exclusive culture.....today, we have not the atmosphere which will enable us to come to a right conclusion about the conflicting choices".<sup>1</sup>

His second objection was that the impose would not only be against the spirit of Ahimsa but also against the process of Indian history. He would much rather hold

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1. Quoted in Gandhi and Communal unity S. Abid Husain p38.

his soul in patience and let cultural evolution take its natural course :

"India is a big nation composed of different cultures which are tending to blend with one another, each complementing the rest. If I must await the completion of the process, I must wait. It may not be completed in my day. I should love to die in the faith that it must come in the fullness of time. I should be happy to think that I have done nothing to hamper the process, subject to this condition, I would do anything to bring about harmony".<sup>1</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that Gandhiji rejected the ready recipes for Hindu-Muslim unity offered by superficial minds who believed that outward proximity could bring about real unity between individual members of two communities and advocated inter-dining and inter-marriage between them. But in the present time it will lead to conflict than promoting unity :

"So long as each is free to observe his or her religion I can see no moral objection to inter marriage. But I do not believe that

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1. Ibid p.39.



these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace. I can see nothing but disaster following any attempt at Hindu-Muslim unions, so long as the relations between the two remain strained .....Interdining between Hindus and Muslims does take place even now on a large scale. But that, again, has not resulted in promoting peace. It is my settled conviction that intermarriage and interdining have no bearing on communal unity. The causes of discord are economic and political and it is these that have to be removed. There is inter-marriage and inter-dining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Muslims have never fought in all history".<sup>1</sup>

He would, however, welcome intermarriage in those cases where it is not motivated by physical lust but by true friendship, provided each party retains his or her religious faith and at the same time respects the faith of the other:

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1. Young India June 4, 1931, p.129.

"Though I admit I have not always held that view, I had come to the conclusion long ago that an inter-religious marriage is a welcome event whenever it takes place. My stipulation is that such connection is not a product of lust. Marriage in my estimation is a sacred institution. Hence there must be mutual friendship, each party having equal respect for the religion of the other. There is no question in this of conversion. Hence the marriage ceremony will be performed by priests of either faith. This happy event can take place when the communities shed mutual enmity and have regard for the religions of the world".<sup>1</sup>

There was a frivolous idea for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity which some great persons advocating that the names 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' should be dropped from the names of educational institutions like the Aligarh Muslim University and the Benaras Hindu University. Gandhiji strongly disagreed with the idea. The writer of this monograph can testify of his

knowledge that, after the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan, one of the Founders of the Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University), and its chancellor, some well wishers of the Jamia suggested that its name should be changed to Jamia Ajmalia, as they thought that the word 'Islamia' by its name detracted from its national character. The matter was referred to Gandhiji, who, as the patron of the Jamia was consulted in all important matters relating to the institution, and he wrote to Dr. Zakir Hussain, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Jamia, supporting his position that the name should not be changed. Gandhiji said that he would never advise associating a public institution with the name of a person, however, great he might be, in preference to that of a great religion. He added that if the word 'Islamia' is dropped from the name of the Jamia, he would cease to take any interest in the institution.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji was a true believer in the religion. Indian people were clashing in the name of religion and

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1. See : Gandhi and Communal Unity p.41.

were ready always to cut each other's throats.

Hindu Sages defined 'Dharma' clearly:

गवामने अयं निः कतिरस्य। त्वयमेव कति । ।

कतिरे अयमेव कतिरे तिमिरास्तु गवां पथः ॥

There are different colours of cows, but all give us white milk. The learned persons look only their milk, but foolish persons look at their colours. Gandhi's religion was to unite all the communities into a single thread. As he stated :

"Religions are not for separating men from one another, they are meant to bind them. It is a misfortune that today they are so distorted that they have become a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter".<sup>2</sup>

A purely religious man and apostle of peace like Gandhi who wanted his message of Truth and Love to reach all men throughout the world could not bear to see

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1. Quoted in Hindu-Muslim Unity by Vishwambhar Nath Pandey Khuda Bax Oriental Public. Library Patna 1969, p.12.

2. Ibid.

that in his own land Hindus and Muslims should so abuse religion "or to make it a potent cause of strife and mutual slaughter". He made it the most cherished desire of his life to bring about real unity of hearts between the two communities even at the cost of his life:

"My longing is to be able to cement the two with my blood if necessary".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji was convinced that true and lasting unity between the Hindus and the Muslims could not be achieved by superficial changes in the manner or ways of living of the two communities but by a real "Change of heart", a complete transformation in their attitude to religion, advised to devote a great deal of his attention, time and energy, in impressing on the minds of the Hindus and the Muslims not only the idea of mutual religious truth-the equality of all religions and a fundamental religious duty-equal respect for all faiths.

Gandhiji began his great mission of Love by emphasising the necessity of tolerance :

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1. Y.I. Sep. 25, 1924, p.314.

"Mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races. We cannot live in peace if the Hindu will not tolerate the Mohammedan form of the worship of God and his manners and customs, or if the Mohammedan will be impatient of Hindu idolatory or Cow-worship. It is not necessary for toleration that I must approve of what I tolerate. I heartily dislike drinking, meat eating and smoking, but I tolerate all these in Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians even as I expect them to tolerate my abstinence from all these although they may dislike it. All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims have arisen from each wanting to force the other to his views".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji gave importance to the Tolerance in solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. To him tolerance is an essential quality of the true religious spirit and he wants Hindus and Muslims to practise it as an important part of their religious duty :

"Hindu-Muslim Unity requires the Mussalmans to tolerate, not as a virtue of necessity,

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1. Y.I, Feb, 25, 1920 p.3.

not as a policy, but as a part of their religion, the religion of others so long the latter believed it to be true. Even so, it is expected of the Hindus to extend the same tolerance as a matter of faith and religion to the religions of others."<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji made it clear that this was not merely an assertion of his personal views, but his understanding of the true teaching of Hinduism and Islam. His study of the two religions, which may not have been very wide but was certainly deep enough for his personal satisfaction, had convinced him self that both laid great emphasis on tolerance what he had read of the Islamic history had convinced him ;

"The history of Islam, if it betrays aberrations from the moral height, has many a brilliant pages. In its glorious days it was not intolerant. It commended the admiration of the world. When the west was sunk in darkness, a bright star arose in the Eastern firmament and gave light and comfort to a groaning world."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Y.I. August 28, 1924, p. 284.

2. Y.I. May-21, 1924, p.183.

About the tolerant attitude of Hinduism, he speaks with more authority :

"Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all prophets in the world, It is not a missionary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been (of) an evolutionary, imperceptible character. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith or Dharma and so it lives at peace with all the religions".<sup>1</sup>

This is one of the cardinal points of Gandhiji's religious faith, which determined his approach to the question of inter-communal (Specially of Hindu-Muslim) relations.

Gandhiji was not in favour of conversion. He emphasised that all religions being equally true, change over from one religion to another had no meaning. The ideal thing for us would be that we never wished, even

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1. Ibid Oct. 6, 1921, p.316.



in our secret thoughts, that the followers of other religions may be converted to ours. Our desire should be that everybody becomes a finer and better follower of his own faith and attains solvation in his own way. At any rate there should be no deliberate attempt, no elaborate campaign, to convert people to our faith because that would not be in keeping with the spirit of love and service which is necessary to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, and very often leads to hostility and strife between the two communities. This however, does not rule out voluntary conversion if it leads to the inner happiness and spiritual betterment of the person who changes his faith.<sup>1</sup>

There was a solution that Gandhi laid down for true and lasting friendship between Hindus and Muslims, which was, from his point of view, almost as important as equal respect, as a real understanding of and respect for each other's religious faith. He advocated that Hindustani a complete mixture of Urdu and Hindi" which he had proposed

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1. See: Gandhi and communal unity, p.48.

as the common link language for the whole country and to which he referred as the Lingua-Franca or the national language, or the inter-provincial language of India, should be written both in the Devanagari and Urdu scripts and both the scripts should be learnt and used by all who use Hindustani;

"If Hindus and Muslims or rather people of all religions in India are friends, they must accept a common language evolved from Hindi and Urdu. They should learn the two scripts".<sup>1</sup>

While Gandhi recommended the adoption of Hindustani as 'the inter-provincial language' as a necessary step towards national unity he insisted on the use of both the Urdu and the Hindi scripts for writing Hindustani as a mark of respect and a gesture of good will towards Muslims as well as towards those Hindus whose mother-tongue is Urdu ;

"If Hindustani is taken to be the inter-provincial language of India, it follows that both the scripts Nagri and Urdu should be equally acceptable. If

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1. M.K. Gandhi: Harijan , p.350.

the state recognizes Nagri as the character in which Hindustani should be written, it would be an injustice to our Muslim brethren."<sup>1</sup>

The reason why Gandhi laid so much stress on the Hindustani language and the Urdu script was that he regarded them as a symbol of Muslim Culture which ought to be respected and preserved just as the culture of any other community in India.

Gandhiji did not miss any chance for Hindu-Muslim Unity. For this cause he took active part in Khilafat Movement.

During the first world war, Indian Muslim suffered severe mental strain as they were torn between conflicting loyalties, their religious loyalty to the Caliph of Turkey who was fighting the British and their political loyalty to Britain whom they had helped. The Khilafat Movement aimed at seeing the temporal and spiritual powers of the Caliph restored to their pristine glory. The

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1. Harijan pp. 400-401.

Muslims of India were now protesting against the threatened dismemberment of defeated Turkey and removal of the holy places of Islam from the Khilafat's control.

The prominent Muslim leaders of the Khilafat Movement were Ali brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam and Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abdul Bari, Dr. Ansari.

Gandhi took up the cry of the Muslims without understanding its implications and significance. He got a chance to be a hero of Muslims. He addressed a meeting of Muslims in Bombay on September 18, 1919, declaring that Khilafat was the question of questions. He asked the Muslims to be ready to sacrifice their ease, comfort, commerce and even their life for the cause. To die for a cause was the law of man, to kill was that of the beast.

He appealed to every Hindu man and woman to observe October 17, as Khilafat day, a day of national fasting and prayer, and proposed suspension of business as expected by the Khilafat conference at Lucknow. The non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi in 1920 failed, and sporadic communal riots broke out in various places: Multan, Ajmer, Saharanpur, Agra and others. After some

months a serious Moplah riot broke out in 1921, in Malabar. The details of this riot has been mentioned earlier.

The Moplah issue gave an opportunity to the Hindu communal elements, who had been lying low so long to raise their voice. Though they were unhappy with the new political situation, since the days of the Lucknow pact, in the rising tide of Hindu-Muslim joint movement, their very existence was not being felt.<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi's appeal to the Hindus in this context was a manifestation of his political maturity. He did not want the Hindus should know that they were one with the muslims in their sorrow and thus put a sacred seal on the Hindu-Muslim bond.

Gandhi launched his non-cooperation programme to strengthen the Khilafat Movement. He asked those who were holding offices of honour or emolument to

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1. See: Gandhi: A challenge to Communalism p.93.

give them up. Those who belonged to the menial services under Govt. should do likewise. Advice to the soliders to refuse to serve and students to boycott the colleges and schools.

He called off the movement when it reached its height, due to chauri-chaura incident on Feb.5,1922 in which 21 constables and a sub-inspector were killed. The Muslim and the Hindu leaders angrily protested against the decision of Gandhiji.

The Government arrested Gandhi on 13th March, 1922, which ended the non-cooperation completely.

The Moplah affair had affected Hindu-Muslim relationship although he was aware of the amount of harm the Hindu communal propaganda might have caused. This consciousness led him to issue an appeal on the Moplah affair, which was significant in its content :

"The Hindu must have the courage and the faith to feel that they can protect their religion inspite of such fanatical eruptions. A verbal disapproval by the Mussalmans of Moplah madness is not a test of Mussalman friendship. The Mussalman must naturally feel the shame and humiliation on the Moplah conduct about forcible conversion".<sup>1</sup>

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1. CWMG Vol. 21, p.321.

On both sides the communal situation passed altogether into the hands of the reactionaries. Shuddhi and Tanzim became the order of the day, and the Tabligh Mullas on one side, and the Shuddhi leaders on the other, gained in popularity. Riots in various places followed in the wake of such activities, brought to the communal leaders new prestige and power.

The release of Ali Brothers and of Mahatma Gandhi (1923-24) roused new hopes, but it was soon proved that the situation had become much too complex. The communal riots brokeout in Delhi, and while Gandhi was trying to grapple with them, came the Kohat tragedy (1924) in which the Muslims of the Punjab slaughtered a number of Hindus. With great anguish in his heart, Gandhi observed, "our non-co-operation has taken the form of non-co-operation in practice with one another instead of with the Government".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Quoted by D. Kher in : Mahatma Gandhi Political Saint and unarmed Prophet, p. 457.

Horried by the atrocities in Kohat, Gandhi started his historic twenty one-days, fast for Hindu-muslim unity at Mohammad Ali's residence in Delhi, on Sep, 18,1924. Before starting upon the fast Mahatma Gandhi , in a statement explained the reasons of the fast.He wrote -

"The fact that Hindus and Muslims who were only two years ago apparently working together as friends, are now fighting like cats and dogs in some places shows conclusively that the non-co-operation, they offered was not non-violent".<sup>1</sup>

The fast of Gandhi was a Penance for Hindu-Muslim unity. "If they (Hindu-Muslim ) have loved me truly they will do penance with me for the grave sin of denying God in their hearts".<sup>2</sup>

He again said :

"The penance of Hindus and Mussalmans is not fasting but retracing their steps.

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1. Quoted in Hindu-Muslim Problems. by Ishwari Pr. SK. Subedar p.40

2. ibid.



It is true penance for a Mussalman to harbour no ill-will for his Hindu brother and an equally true Penance for a Hindu to harbour none for his Musalman brother".<sup>1</sup>

After Gandhi's fast was commenced, a unity conference was called hurriedly at Delhi on 27. September 1924 which was attended by Dr. Westcott, the Metropolitan of India, Annie Besant, Malviya, Shraddhanand and the Ali brothers. The three hundred delegates attended the conference represented almost every school of thought in the country. On the first day of the conference, following resolution was passed :

"The conference is emphatically of the opinion, that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion is essential, and condemns any desecration of places of worship, to whatever faith they may belong, and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith; and it further condemns any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to recure or enforce. One's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Quoted in *Mahatma* by Q.G. Tandulkar , vol.2, p.203.

The delegates of the conference assured Mahatma Gandhi and pledged themselves to use their utmost endeavours to enforce these principles and to condemn any deviation from them even under provocation. Gandhi's statement observes thus:

"The fast is, therefore, a matter between God and myself, and I would, therefore, not only ask you to forgive me, for not breaking it, but would ask you even to encourage me. I have not taken up the fast to die, but I have taken it up to live a better and purer life for the service of the Hindu-Muslim unity".<sup>1</sup>

The unity conference sat for several days and passed many resolutions. They assured Gandhi for maintaining the peace. So Gandhiji broke his fast on Oct, 8, 1924, amidst Ali brothers, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Swami Shradddhanand, Desbandhu, and Maulana Azad.

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1. Quoted in - Mahatma Vol.2, by D.S. Tendulkar p.204.

Gandhi's 21 days fast could not achieve Hindu-Muslim Unity, but Hindu-Muslim tension continued unabated. Gandhiji issued a famous article : "Hindu-Muslim Tension- Its causes and Cure", in young India on 29 May, 1924; as follows :

Causes :

1. "The remote cause of the tension is the Moplah rebellion.
2. The attempt of Mr. Fazal Hussain to rearrange the distribution of posts in the education department consistently with the number of Mussalmans in the Punjab and consequent Hindu opposition.
3. The Shuddhi Movement.
4. The most potent being tiredness of non-violence and the fear that the communities might be a long course of training in non-violence, forget the law of relation and self-defence.
5. Mussalman's Cow slaughter and Hindu Music before Mosque.

6. Hindu Cowardice and consequent Hindu distrust of Mussalmans.

7. Mussalman bullying.

8. Mussalman distrust of Hindu fair play".

Cure :

1. "The master-key to the solution is the replacement of the rule of the sword by that of arbitration.

Honest public opinion should make it impossible for aggrieved parties to take the law into their own hands and every case must be referred to private arbitration or a law-courts of the parties do not believe in non-co-operation.

2. Ignorant fear of cowardly non-violence, falsely so called taking the place violence should be dispelled.

3. Growing mutual distrust among the leaders must, if they believe in unity, give place to trust.

4. Hindus must cease to fear the Mussalman bully and the Mussalmans should consider it beneath their dignity to bully their Hindu brothers.
5. Hindus must not imagine they can force Mussalmans to give up cowsacrifice. They must trust, by befriending Mussalmans that the latter will of their own accord, give up cow sacrifice out of regard for their Hindu neighbours.
6. Nor Must Mussalmans imagine they can force Hindus to stop Music or arti before mosques. They must befriend the Hindus and trust them to pay heed to reasonable Mussalman sentiment.
7. Hindus must leave to the Mussalmans and the other minorities the question of representation on elected bodies, and gracefully and whole-heartedly give effect to the findings of such referee. If I had my way I should appoint Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan as the sole referee leaving him free to consult Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, etc, as he considers best.

8. Employment under national government must be according to merit to be decided by a board of examiners representing different communities.
9. Shuddhi and Tabligh as such cannot be disturbed, but either must be conducted honestly and by men of proved character. It should avoid all attack on other religions. There should be no secret propaganda and no offer of material rewards.
10. Public opinion should be so cultivated as to put under the ban all the scurrilous writings, principally in a section of the Punjab press.
11. Nothing is possible without the Hindus shedding their timidity. Theirs is the largest stake and they must be prepared to sacrifice the most. But if the solution is the only true solution, all difficulties must be overcome. In reality the difficulty is only apparent. If there are even a few Hindus and a few Mussalmans who have a living faith in the solution, the rest is easy. Indeed even if there are a few

Hindus or few Muslims only. With that faith the solution would be still easy. They have but to work away single heartedly and the others will follow them".<sup>1</sup>

To Gandhi, a Sanatani Hindu, Cow-protection was as important as to any other Hindu because, "the cow is an object of workship among the Hindus. Cow-worship means to me worship of innocence. For me, the cow is the personification of innocence. Cow-protection means the protection of the weak and the helpless".<sup>2</sup>

He emphasises the importance of cow :

"The cow is looked upon as mother, for like mother, she gives milk, not only to babies but to every one of us, mother again is the recipient of much service for children but who cares for the cow ? therefore the cow is more than mother".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Young India, 29 May, 1924. See also CWMG Vol. XXIV, pp 189-190.
  2. Young India 8-6.21.  
See also : How to serve cow by Gandhi ed. by  
B. Kumarappa. Navjivan Publishing Ahmedabad  
1984, p.3.
  3. Quoted From : The Diary of Mahadev Desai: pp 87-88.

Addressing a meeting which was held under the auspices of the Gaurakshani Sabha at Bettiah, on October 9, 1917, Gandhiji said that if Hindu Society desired others to stop sinning against the cow, they must not sin themselves, they should neither milk it to the last drop nor keep it ill-nourished. Besides, the Hindus should carry on an agitation against the British in India to close down slaughter houses and then persuade the Muslims to stop killing of cows on occasions like Bakri-id, which was not obligatory. The Hindus should take a pledge that they would gear no ill-will or malice towards Muslims or fight with them. They should bring about a change of heart in the Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

According to Gandhi the Muslims were not solely responsible for cow-slaughter, but mostly are the Hindus. He says-

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1. See: Mahatma by D. Kher, p. 286.



"Three-fourths of the responsibility for cow-slaughter in India lies with the Hindus; and the Muslims are guilty of only one fourth".<sup>1</sup>

The Hindus objected to cow-slaughter only by the Muslims, but not by the British. The British ate beef daily in a large quantity. The Hindu Society keeps silent about them. In his article Gandhi did point to this phenomenon :

"I have never been able to understand the anti-pathy towards the mussalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of the English".<sup>2</sup>

From the Muslim point of view beef is cheaper than other flesh. This was clearly explained by Mohd. Ali in his presidential address at the Coconada Congress of 1923:

"Muslims in India can afford to purchase the dearer mutton on rare occasions. But for the poorer among the Muslims it is the staple....

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1. M.K. Gandhi :How to serve the Cow ed. B. Kumarappa p.14.

2. CWMG vol.24 p.150.

food..... In the case of this class of Muslims the use of beef is at present a more or less actually felt-economic necessity".<sup>1</sup>

Mohd. Ali, however, tried to find a practical solution by suggesting that the only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case was to take steps to lower the price of Mutton, which was prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there was at present between the prices of Mutton and beef.

Gandhi held that cow protection can be secured only with the voluntary cooperative and help of the Muslims. So he advised Hindus not to antagonise Muslims for the sake of cow-protection.

To maintain the unity between Hindus and Muslims on cow-issue, he prepared a draft constitution of All India cow-protection Sabha on January 24, 1925:

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1. Selected writings and speeches of Mohd. Ali  
p cit p.298.

Lajpat Rai, a Member of the Hindu Sabha did not appreciate Gandhi's assessment, as the solution which the Mahatma suggested and the cure he prescribed:

"There is, indeed, a general impression among the Hindus that in apportioning blame and responsibility he (Gandhi) was not quite impartial. There are classes of Hindus (most influential, energetic and active) whom his statement mortally offended and who have not hesitated to retaliate with words and resolutions of protest and anger".<sup>1</sup>

This makes it clear that the advocates of the Shuddhi and Sangathan were annoyed at Gandhi's solution of cow-slaughter issue. Another important problem resulting in friction between the two communities was that of music before mosques. This was a sore point for the Muslims, as cow-slaughter was for the Hindus. It had always been a cause of violent clashes between the members of the two communities in India.

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1. V.G. Joshi (ed) Lajpat Rai, Writings and Speeches, Vol.2, New Delhi 1966, p. 7

To Gandhi, music before mosque was another delicate issue between the Hindus and the Muslims . In his opinion "it is a sore point with the Mussalman as cow slaughter is with the Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

He advised the Hindus that they should stop music before mosques to spare the feelings of the Mussalmans. On the other hand he did not agree with the view that Muslims should fight against Hindus.

He advised the Hindus: "A Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing by a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter of vital importance for him to play music whilst passing by a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Muslim sentiment of having solemn silence near a mosque whole of the 24 hours".<sup>2</sup>

In his opinion, Islam does not make it obligatory for a Mussalman to prevent a non-Muslim from

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1. Quoted in Gandhian approach to Communalism p.65.

2. CWMG- Vol.20, pp. 89-90.

playing music before mosques. He said that if it was a religious necessity, no prohibition order by a court of law could be held obligatory. Music must be played.. cost what it might.....to stop music for fear of law or because of an order of court was to deny one's religion.<sup>1</sup>

By mutual understanding and trust among the Hindus and the Muslims the problem of music before mosque can be solved. So he advised Muslims to win the goodwill and cooperation of the Hindus. If this was done, Hindus would stop playing music before mosques and disturb Muslim prayers. He said "what is it but compulsion if Hindus will kill a Mussalman for saving a cow? And, similarly, what is it but compulsion if a Mussalman seeks to prevent by force Hindus from playing music before mosques."<sup>2</sup>

Compulsion can never succeed in earning respect for our religious practices or sentiments".As the

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1. CWMG Vol.24, p.140.

2. CWMG Vol.24, p.140.

Hindus cannot compel the Mussalmans to refrain from killing cows, so can the Mussalmans not compel the Hindus to stop music or arti at the point of the sword. They must trust the good sense of the Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

His appeal to Hindus was that they should always respect the law. Where a court of law had prohibited music, the Hindus should not take the law in their own hands.

In this way Gandhiji suggested voluntary self-denial by Hindus in the matter of playing music before mosques and in the matter of cow-slaughter by the Muslims. The two issues which have constantly been a source of communal riots in India should be resolved in that way .

"The true solution ( of these issue) is that Mussalman should forgo cow-slaughter and the Hindus should forgo music before mosques".<sup>2</sup>

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1. CWMG Vol.24, p.151.

2. CWMG Vol.35, p.437.

Gandhi also condemned those persons who desecrated temples and mosques. In that sense the Gulbarg riot was very significant, (on the day of the Muharram, some Mohammedans accompanying the Puja procession molested Hindu women whom they met on the road and afterwards entered the Sharan visheswar Temple, remained in possession of it for some hours, and did some damage. Next day a story went round that the Hindus had caused mischief to a mosque. There upon Mohammedan moles attacked all Hindu temples in the city and broke the idols".<sup>1</sup>

Whatever may be the source of trouble, the Gulbarg riot was highly significant. Gandhi, wrote in young India under the title "Wanton Destruction", "There is no doubt all these cases have an organisation at their back, an organisation which cannot enhance the dignity of Islam and cannot popularise it".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi believed that Shuddhi or Conversion movement is another religious issues which kept up the tension

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1. I.O.R. 1924, vol.2, p.25.

2. Young India 28 August 1924.

between the two communities. And, therefore , he made an attempt to examine and settle the same in order to achieve unity of the two communities. He rejected the very idea of a movement which aimed at conversion from one faith to another. He told the people : "I am against conversion whether it is known as Shuddhi by Hindus, Tabligh by Mussalmans, or proselytizing by Christian".<sup>1</sup>

In his opinion conversion is a heart process known only to and by God. And, therefore, it is not the business of a man to seek conversion from one faith to another. He said that "It is the transference of allegiance from one fold to another and the mutual decrying of rival faiths which gives rise to mutual hatred".<sup>2</sup>

He believed that fellowship of faiths can allow provide peaceful coexistence of the members of different religious denominations. It can only be achieved if people discard the desire for converting the members of another faiths to their own . If fellowship of faiths

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1. Gandhi M.K.: Communal unity , p.81.

2. CWMG, Vol.32, p.514.



is to be, achieved them "our utmost prayer should be that a Hindu should be a better Hindu, a Muslim a better Muslim and a christian a better Christian."<sup>1</sup>

Advising Hindus, Gandhi said that there was not such a thing as proselytism in Hinduism, as it was understood in Christianity or to a lesser extent in Islam. The Arya Samaj had, copied the christians in planning its propaganda. And, therefore, the Arya Samaj indulged in reviving other religions to achieve its aim ie. Shuddhi. He remarked that all religions were more or less true.<sup>2</sup>

However, Gandhi does not deny any one the right to conduct such a movement like Shuddhi and Tabligh. He said that those who believed in it had a perfect right to follow their own course without let or hindrance, so long as it was kept within proper limits, i.e. so long as there was no force or fraud or material inducement and so long as the parties were free agents and of mature age and understanding.<sup>3</sup>

1. CWMG Vol.35 p.461.

2. See: CWMG Vol.24, p.148.

3. See: CWMG Vol.32. p.515.

He made it clear that of the Aryasamajists thought that they had a call from their conscience, they had perfect right to conduct the movement, such a burning call recognizes no time limit, no checks of experience..... only they must be genuine. If the Malkans as had counted to return to the Hindu fold, they had a perfect right to do so whenever they had liked. But no propaganda could be allowed which reviled other religions for that would be the negation of toleration. Any way Gandhi was totally against forcible conversion. He believed that Muslim rulers like Christian rulers had used the sword for the propagation of their respective faiths. But he did not agree that forcible conversion had the sanction of religion. He said,

"I do not know a single writer on Islam who defends the use of force in the proselytizing process".<sup>1</sup>

Speaking to Muslims he said that there was nothing in Koran to warrant the use of force for conversion.

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1. CWMG Vol. 18 p.329.

Thus Gandhi was not in favour of conversion, but he was not against it if it was done spontaneously by the communities.

The most important cause of the Hindu-Muslim conflict was the political issue. Since meeting Sir Syed Ahmad Khan advised his correligionists to keep themselves aloof from the Indian national congress. One of the reasons for advocating such a policy was the minority (Muslims) fear of majority (Hindus) dominance if self-govt was accorded to Indians. Gandhiji after assuming leadership of the National Movement made it clear that the success of the freedom movement demanded the active cooperation of the Muslims. Without Hindu-Muslim Unity Swaraj was an impossible dream. Hindu-Muslim unity for him, was a precondition for Swaraj, and, therefore, he wanted to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity first. And to achieve the unity of the two communities the minority fear of the majority dominance had to be removed.

He took this problem as a distrust between the Hindus and the Muslims. In his opinion, "Many Hindus

distrust Mussalmans honesty. They believe that Swaraj means Mussalman raj, for they argue that without the British, Mussalmans of India will aid Mussalman powers to build a Mussalman empire in India. Mussalmans on the other hand fear that the Hindus, being an overwhelming majority will smother them".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi believed that this problem cannot be solved by a political pact giving Muslims separate electorates or special representation and reserving quota for Muslims in government employment. It would, on the contrary, strengthen the tendencies of Muslim separatism. The problem could be solved, according to him, only by developing the spirit of trust and friendship between the members of the two communities.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the Muslims minority, Gandhiji said:

"the Mussalmans fear the Hindu majority because the Hindus, they (Mussalmans) say have not always treated them with justice, have not respected their religious prejudices and because, they say, the Hindus

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1. CWMG vol.20, p.90.

2. See: Gandhi approach to communalism op cit. p.70.

are Superior to them in education and wealth. Whether these are fact or not is irrelevant for our purpose. It is enough that Muslims believe them and therefore are afraid of the Hindu Majority. The Muslims expect to meet this fear only partially by means of separate electorates and special representation even in excess of their number in some cases".<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Gandhi said that the Hindus fear the Muslims, because they had treated them with great harshness. The Hindus had charged them as invaders. He believed that if Swaraj is to be achieved, Hindus ought not to fear Muslims, even if they (Muslims) wanted more than what is due to them. "I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern the country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For, under a free govt. the real power will be held by the people".<sup>1</sup>

The reason why Gandhiji advocated voluntary surrender on the part of Hindus to Minorities is his belief in Satyagraha by which any unjust act can be

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1. CWMG Vol.43, p. 307.

resisted. He told Hindus that if non-Hindus are given a chance to rule over the country and they proved untire or unjust, satyagraha could be used also against them. The Hindus, need not bear the administrator if he is a Muslim. He said that " we want to do away with the communal spirit. The majority must, therefore, make the beginning and thus inspire the minorities with confidence in their bonafides. Adjustment is possible when the more powerful take the initiative without waiting for response from the weaker."<sup>1</sup>

In this way Gandhi was not in favour of separate electorates for the Muslims. In his opinion "separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust".<sup>2</sup> Therefore, separate electorates are a hurdle in the way of Hindu-Muslims unity. Gandhi was aware of the fact that separate electorates for the Muslims are a mechanism for ensuring a share in political power. He said : "What the Muslims want is not

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1. CWMG Vol.24 p 182.

2. Gandhi M.K. Communal Unity p 139.

separate electorates for their own sake but they want their own real representatives to be sent to the legislatures and other objective bodies".<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, suggested that separate electorates should be ended because their demand for real representatives of their community can be secured, "by Private arrangements, rather than legal imposition. There is flexibility about private arrangements. A legal imposition tends to become rigid. Private arrangement means a domestic settlement of democratic quarrels and a solid wall of united opposition against a common enemy the foreign rule."<sup>2</sup>

Gandhiji gave its solution by joint electorates in place of separate electorates, which would bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. But such a proposal was acceptable neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims. He failed to realize that whatever he preached, he or a small band of his devoted followers alone could practice. Its application on a large and general scale was bound to fail.

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1. M.K. Gandhi: The way of communal harmony p.149. also CWMG. Vol. 26, p. 162.

2. CWMG Vol. 26, p.162.

Gandhiji rejected the ready recipes for Hindu Muslim unity offered by superficial Minds who believed that outward proximity could bring about real unity between individual members of the two communities and advocated inter-dining and inter-marriage between them, under the present circumstances such measures, instead of promoting unity might lead to further conflicts :

"So long as each is free to observe his or her religion I can see no moral objection to inter-marriage. But I do not believe that these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace. I can see nothing but disaster following any attempt at Hindu -Muslim Unions, so long as the relations between the two remain strained. Inter-dining between Hindus and Muslims does take place even now on a large scale. But that , again , has not resulted in promoting peace. It is my settled conviction that inter-Marriage and inter-dining have no bearing on communal unity".<sup>1</sup>

There was another equally friolous idea for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity which some well-meaning persons put forward in Gandhi's life time and

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1. Quoted in Gandhi and Communal Unity, pp. 39-40.



have been persistently advocating ever since- that the names: Hindu' and 'Muslim' should be dropped from the names of educational institutions like the Aligarh Muslim University and the Banaras Hindu University. Gandhiji strongly disagreed with the idea.

As Gandhiji was continuously advocating Hindu-Muslim unity, but without result. Communal riots broke out here and there. He became so nervous that he handed over charge as congress President to Sarojani Naidu in December 1925, and him self announced in whole of 1926, as a year of political silence. During that period", I am not to stir out of the Ashram, Certainly not out of Ahmedabad;" so in 1926 Gandhiji found enough time to continue writing the story of my experiments with truth' his Autobiography.

During this time (1924-25) the sessions of Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League were held in Calcutta and Aligarh. These sessions threw religious mud over each other. As the All India Hindu Mahasabha held two sessions at Calcutta and Kanpur on the 11th April 1923 and 29th

December 1929 respectively . Lajpat Rai presided over the first session. He condemned the Lucknow pact and declared it a mistake on the part of Congress. He opposed any scheme of communal representation and advocated a "democratic raj in which the Hindus, Muslims and the other communities of India may participate as Indians and not as followers of any particular religion."<sup>1</sup>

The Muslim League met at Aligarh on the 30th December, 1923, under the Chairmanship of Abdur Rahim, a former judge of the Madras High Court. He attacked the Hindu attitude towards the Muslim community.

Unfortunately in the same year Swami Shraddhanand was murdered by a young Muslim fanatic. This wiped out all the possibilities of the reproachment between the two communities.

The relation between the Hindu and Muslim since 1924 worsened to the worst due to mutual differences. As Coatman remarks :

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1. Quoted by Dr. Padmashah in Indian National Congress and the Muslims 1928-1947 Rajesh Publishing New Delhi 1923, pp 32-33.

"From 1928 there is quite definitely a new model of Hindu-Muslim antagonism----- It is something deeper more embracing in its objectives than the old traditional Semi-instinctive antagonism".<sup>1</sup>

When in the end of 1927 the political goal of Swaraj was changed to that of complete independence, the Muslims began to devote their attention more anxiously to a clear definition and proper security of their position in a future self-governing India. To Gandhi, the settlement with the Muslims was a must for Indian Freedom. He aimed that without ending the home dispute there was no hope of getting anything from the British. He, therefore persuaded the congress to do accordingly.

Jinnah was interested to compromise with the congress on the condition that the congress would accept his Delhi Proposal. Here it would be necessary to go into the background to understand the circumstances of these properly. The Gauhati session of the INC met in Dec. 1926, in which it was decided to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Muslim leaders to remove the differences between Hindu and Muslim and

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1. Quoted from Years of Destiny by J. Coatman (London) 1932 p.216.

submit and their report to the All India Congress committee in March 1927.<sup>1</sup>

This working committee and the congress president for the year held several informal conferences with Hindu and Muslim leaders and the members of the central legislatures. On 20th March, 1927 some prominent Muslim leaders met together in Delhi and put forward certain proposals on the Hindu-Muslim problem. On the 20th March, 1927, they put forward the following proposals.

"Whether in the forthcoming revision of the Indian constitution, elections to the legislative body should be through joint or separate electorates, has been the subjects of anxious discussion among Hindu and Mussalman leaders. In Delhi. The Hindu members of the congress party and the Nationalist party having already decided in favour of only a joint electorate with the reservation of seats to Mohamedans, either on the basis of the Lucknow pact or the existing population of each province, the Mohammedans met in informal conference today under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, who had issued the invitation to representative Mohammedans in all parts of India".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted From L Resolutions, Congress and the Minorities (Allahabad) 1947- p. 99 by Sadiq Ali (ed).
  2. See : Jinnah : History of the Origin of the Points (Bombay) p. 3.  
Quoted also in INC and Muslim p.35.

According to Jinnah , it was unanimously resolved that the Muslim should accept a settlement on the basis of the following proposals so far as representation in the various legislatures in any future scheme of constitution was concerned :

- i) Sind was made into a separate province,
- ii) The N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan were to be treated on the same footing as the other provinces.
- iii) In Punjab and Bengal the proportion of representation was in accordance with the population.<sup>1</sup>

Jinnah writes :

"If this is agreed to, Mohammedans are prepared to accept a joint electorates in all provinces so constituted and are further willing to make to Hindus minorities in Sind, Baluchistan and the North-west Frontier Province the same concessions that Hindu majorities in other provinces are prepared to make to Mohammadans minorities."<sup>2</sup>

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1. *ibid.* p.4.

2. *ibid.* p.4.

The proposals were communicated to the congress In May, 1927, the congress passed its resolution. On Delhi proposals. It suggested, on behalf of the Hindu leaders that Sind should not be separated . On communal grounds but on general grounds applicable to all provinces"<sup>1</sup>

There was no agreement between the representatives of the Muslim league and Hindu Mahasabha on the separation of Sind and the reservation of seats for minorities. At last the All Parties conference appointed a final committee to draft a report on this issue. Pt. Motilal Nehru was appointed as the Chairman of this committee in Bombay on the 19th May, 1928. There were also M. S. Aney and Manqalsing, who represented the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh League. The Nehru Committee Report was published on 15th August 1928. It was an impressive Report which covered a wide range of constitutional issues. An introductory chapter made out a case for full Dominion status while three chapters dealt with the communal problem. The final recommendations, which bore the impression of a considerable amount of labour and thought, were given in chapter VII of the Report. These included proposals relating to reservation

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1. Quoted from : All parties conference 1928. (Allahabad 1928) p. 21.

of seats, the form of electorate, and the future status of Sind and the North-west Frontier province. In addition to this, there was a Declaration of Rights which guaranteed religious liberty and cultural autonomy to each individual and group aimed at allaying Muslim fears of Hindu domination". We cannot have one community dominating over another, declared the Report.

The Report, rejected the Muslim demand for reservation of seats in Bengal and the Punjab. Its verdict was that reservation of seats for majorities was in compatible with real representatives and responsible government. However, on the basis of statistics provided by J.L.Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose, the report concluded that the Bengali and Punjabi Muslims did not require any adventitious aid to secure the full benefit of their natural majority. Their population was so distributed that in whatever way the electorates were formed, they were sure of capturing a majority of seats in the legislature councils and local bodies. And finally, the argument that the Hindus who were a minority in population in the Punjab and Bengal but were a majority in voting registers ceased to have any validity under a system of adult franchise recommended by the Nehru Report.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See : Mushirul Hasan : Moh. Ali ideology and Politics pp 90 to 92.

The weightage fixed for Muslims under the Lucknow pact and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was withdrawn. Separate electorates were also abolished. According to the Report, the principle of weightage had no place in joint or mixed electorates :

"It is of course not physically impossible to reserve a large proportion of seats for Muslim minorities than their population would justify but apart from the obvious injustice of such a course not only to majorities but to the minorities as well, it will in our opinion be harmful to the development of Muslims themselves on national life. We have allowed them their full share on the population basis by reservation and over and above that share they must win by their own effort. We do not propose to impose any restrictions on their right to contest a large number of seats than those reserved for them".

There was also no Muslim representation in the central legislature. The Muslims demanded one-third of the seats in the central legislature. This argument was pursued by Shuaib Qureshi at the All-Parties Conference and unanimously adopted by the All India Muslim League and into provincial branches. But, with the exception of Tej Bahadur Sapru, no member of the Nehru Committee accepted this demand.



In sum, then, the Nehru Report recommended reservation of seats for Muslims only in Provinces where they were in a minority. The author of Report abolished separate electorates, discarded reservation of seats for Muslim majorities in the Punjab and Bengal, and rejected the principle of weightage for Muslim minorities. This was an extraordinary decision and against Delhi proposals.

The Hindu leaders such as Lala Lajpat Rai and the Aryasamajists accepted the Nehru Report.

Pt. Motilal Nehru's hoped that the Nehru Report would be welcomed by Muslims.

The Muslims opposed it bitterly. They began to feel that they had been cheated of their legitimate rights. Jinnah writes :

"The basic principles of the communal settlement embodied in the Nehru Report are contrary to those on which Muslim opinion had hitherto expressed its willingness to come to an agreement".

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1. Jinnah : History of the origin of 14 points, (Bombay) pp 1-2.

It was really Shocking for the future of the communal re<sup>2</sup>approachment in India that the Muslims did not regard the Report as just. Jinnah adds :

"The Nehru Report proposal can, therefore, at best be treated only as counter Hindu proposals to the Muslim proposals. And, as there is no agreement reached it is now for the All India Muslim League to take such action or adopt such course as the League may think proper in the best interests of the community and the country".<sup>1</sup>

The Khilafat leaders accused the Nehru Report of having admitted in its preamble : "The bondage of Servitude " and denounced the "Dominion-status wallah" as "Cowards" and 'Slaves".<sup>2</sup>

The Nehru Report , according to Mohd. Ali , meant that the creation was God's the country was the Viceroy's or of the Parliament's and the rule was Hindu Mahasabha's .<sup>3</sup>

1. *ibid* : op. cit.

2. Quoted by Muslimul Hassan; op. cit. p.14  
From : M.M. Mitra : The Indian Quarterly  
Register 1928 (Calcutta) 1928 vol.2, p.403.

3. See : Speech at the Bihar and Orissa All Parties  
Conference 9 Dec. 1928.

Mohd. Ali deplored Gandhi's fervent canvassing of the Report : He wrote to this effect :

"Gandhi has defeated all Muslim attempts for a compromise, he wants to kill communalism by ignoring it. He is giving free reins to the communalism of the majority. (The Nehru Constitution ) is the legalized tyranny of numbers and is the way to rift and not peace. It recognizes the rank communalism of the majority as nationalism. The Safeguards proposed to limit the high handedness of the majority are branded as communal".<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Pt. Motilal was accused of being in clutches of the Hindu Mahasabha.

The behaviour of Gandhi on the Nehru Report, made anti effect on the Muslims. And the gulf that separated Gandhi and Mohd. Ali Seemed unbridgeable, by 1928. Their relationship reached a breaking point. Gandhi conceded that the Ali Brothers' had a fairly heavy list of complaints' against him and that he could not make an impression on them as they distrust the role of my associates".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Abdul Hamid : Muslim Separatism in India (1838-1947) (Karachi-1971) p. 148.  
also Quoted by Pad Mashah , op.cit. p.54.

2. Gandhi to Motilal Nehru 12 August, 1929, Motilal Nehru Papers (G-1) NML.

At a Public meeting in Bombay on 11 August 1929, Mohd. Ali accused Gandhi of "working under the influence of the communalist Hindu-Mahasabha, and 'fighting for the supermacy of Hinduism and sub mergence of Muslims".<sup>1</sup>

At the Muslim conference, in April 1930, Mohd. Ali said :

"We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi;  
"because his movement of (Civil disobedience)  
is not a movement for complete independence  
of India but for making the seventy millions  
of Indian Muslims dependent on the Hindu  
Mahasabha ".<sup>2</sup>

He also expressed doubt as to whether Gandhi would stick to his own programme :

"Doubtless, man who could suddenly call-off  
the non-cooperation campaign at Bardoli in  
1922, with the same astonishing about peace  
can inaugurate a civil disobedience Movement  
in 1930. But what surely is there that he  
would again order suspension, just as he

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1. Quoted by Moshirul Hassan op.cit. From : Selections from Moh. Ali's Comrade (ed) by Jafri, p.202.

2. Quoted by Mushir Hassan : op.cit.  
See also : Regionld Coupland : The Constitutional Problem in India, Oxford, 1944, pt. 3, p 111.

did eight years ago, only a few days after serving an ultimatum to the viceroy".<sup>1</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi Publicly appreciated the achievements of the report and wired his warmest congratulations to Motilal Nehru.

A few liberal Muslims, like the Raja of Mahmudabad and Sir Ali Imam, and a few congress Muslims like Azad and Ansari, Supported the Nehru Report.

Although Jinnah and his followers were very critical of the Report on so many points, yet they worked for a rapprochement between the congress and the Muslims.

Later on, Jinnah issued his famous 'fourteen points' on May 1929, which laid down more precisely and clearly the basic Muslim demands.

In brief the Report was solely responsible for creating gulf between Hindus and the Muslims so wide, that reunion seemed impossible.

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1. Quoted in : W.J. Watsom : Moh. Ali and the Khilafat Movement (unpublished M.A. Thesis ) MCGIU UNIVERSITY 1955, p.92.

ALOOFNESS OF THE MUSLIMS FROM GANDHI

Since 1906-1916 Jinnah was regarded the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity. As president of Home Rule League (1916-17) he stated :

"My message to the Mussalmans is to join hands with your Hindu brethren. My message to the Hindus is to lift your backward brother up. In that spirit let the foundation of the Home Rule League be consecrated and there is nothing for us to fear".<sup>1</sup>

When Gandhi ji took charge of Home Rule League as president, he changed the name of league into the Swarajya Sabha. This was resented Jinnah and he resigned from the Home Rule League.

Jinnah was also against Gandhi's non-cooperation Movement (1920). He did not find it suitable for national unity. He termed it as dangerous for the future of the country. At the Nagpur congress session, he said that Gandhi always caused split and disorganisation and that

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1. Quoted in Jinnah and Gandhi, p.37.

his programme would end in disaster. He told the Mahatma :

"I am fully convinced that it (non-cooperation) must lead to disaster-.....your methods have already caused split and division in almost every institution that you have approached hitherto.....people generally are desperate all over the country and your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and the illiterate. All this means complete disorganisation and Chaos. What the consequence of this may be, I shudder to contemplate....1.

Thus Jinnah left congress and Gandhi in 1920. Ali Brothers were the close co-worker with Gandhi during Khilafat and non-cooperation movements . They were known as the left and right hands of the Mahatma. The forces and factors which ultimately pushed them away from the congress and Gandhi, whom they considered as a Mandate, need to be analysed :

One source of estrangement was, no doubt, Malviya's influence on Gandhi. In 1924, Mohd. Ali

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1. Quoted by : Sharif-Al Mujahid p.51  
in Qaid-i-Azam, Jinnah, B.R. Publishing Corp. Delhi, 1981.

wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru: "I have discussed the matter frankly with your father and he told me that he largely agreed with me that Malviyaji was out to defeat Gandhism and to become the leader of the Hindus only since he could not be the leader of Muslims as well as Hindus, and that Hindu-Muslim unity was not his ideal..... In one respect, however, I am positive that I failed to impress him (Gandhi) at all that is the Character of his 'worshipped brother' pandit Madan Mohan Malviya. He comes out of it the best of us all. And yet both Shaukat and I were under the impression that Bapu thought very differently of the noble Pandit. If Bapu believes all that he says about him and there can be little doubt of it then I must despair of the near future at any rate".<sup>1</sup>

Malviya's influence on Gandhiji insulated Mohd. Ali in a desperate condition. The Ali brothers used to hate Malviya and Lajpat Rai. About Lajpat Rai, Moh. Ali said"

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1. Mohd. Ali to J.L. Nehru, 15 June, 1924 Jawaharlal Nehru Correspondence Vol.48, File No. M-73-114, p.22 NMML.

Quoted also in :Gandhi : a challenge to communalism p..191 by Gargi Chakravartiy.1987 New Delhi.



"he is treacherous. He is in his heart of hearts an enemy of Mussalmans".<sup>1</sup>

But still they publicly did not utter anything which would create difficulties for Gandhi. They kept aloof from the Tabligh and Tanzim Movements, which was organised by Kitchlew.<sup>2</sup>

A large section of Muslims was already separated from congress, as some of the congress leaders had been engaged in organising Hindu Sangathansabhas and using congress Pandals for the Hindu Sabha Meetings.

Kohat riot (1924) was another cause of alienation of Ali Brothers. from Gandhi. Moreover, some of the

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1. See: Home, Pol. 1923, No. IS/IV NAI.

2. Dr. Kitchlew said that : "for the uplift of the Muslim, Community and to make it stand on its own leg it was necessary that they should organise themselves whether the Hindus help them or not wherever he went the Mussalmans told him that they gave money and made sacrifices for the Khilafat at their bidding and it was now for the Khilafat organisation to do something for the Muslims when the Hindus were organising Sanghathan", Home, Pol. 1924, File No. 167, NAI.

statements of Gandhi during 1924 evoked widespread resentment among the Muslims. The following observation by Gandhi in Young India was a source of Muslim embitterment :

"The Mussalman being generally in a minority has as a class developed into a fully..... The thirteen hundred years of imperialistic expansion have made the Mussalmans fighter as a body. They are therefore aggressive. Bullying is the natural excrescence of an aggressive spirit. The Hindu has an age-old civilization. He is essentially non violent.. If Hinduism was ever imperialistic in the modern sense of the term it has out lived its imperialism..... predominance of the non-violent spirit has restricted the use of arms to a small minority.....The Hindus as a body are, therefore, not equipped for fighting... they have become docile to the point of timidity or cowardice. This vice is, therefore, a natural excrescence of gentleness".<sup>1</sup>

Inspite of such a statement by Gandhi, Mohd. Ali expressed his fully support to Gandhi. As in 1925, we find his editorial in the Comrade expressing full confidence in Gandhi . He wrote :

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1. M.K. Gandhi: The way to communal Harmony; Navjivan publication Ahmedabad 1963 pp 261-262.

"I also strongly hold certain views with regard to the way in which India can win her freedom, which for the most part I share with Mahatma Gandhi, whom I am proud to regard as my Chief".<sup>1</sup>

Mohd. Ali's confidence remained firm not only in Gandhi but also in the congress even in 1926. He "advised non-cooperation with those who rebelled against the congress."<sup>2</sup>

He had already written about it in 1925:

"The Congress is, and must remain the only political organisation, and the Mahatma alone can be expected to guide it and through it the Nation to victory.....Let the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha both perish and let the congress and the nation survive".<sup>3</sup>

- 1- See : The Comrade (editorial) 16, Oct. 1925,  
Quoted in Selections from Maulana Mohammad Ali's  
Comrade, ed. by Syed Rais Raza Jafri, Lahore  
1923.
- 2- M.K. Gandhi (Source Material for a History of Freedom  
Movement, Vol.3, Part II. Bombay, 1968, p.380.
- 3- See: The Comrade: 9 January 1925.

It was at Mohammad Ali's residence that Mahatma Gandhi stayed during his 21-days fast in 1924. Thus there was no tension between Ali Brothers and Gandhi, since the Kohat riot. It was from 1926 onwards, with the increase in revivalism of the Hindu Mahasabhaites and the subsequent retirement of Gandhi from Politics, that the Ali Brothers gradually began to draw themselves away from the congress and Gandhiji.

The role of Hindu Mahasabha was always anti-Muslim. According to Craig Baxter "The Mahasabha in theory was a forum within the Congress in which Mahasabha members could express Hindu views and work for the protection of Hindu interests, but in such a manner as not necessarily to be anti-Muslim".<sup>1</sup>

But some of the speeches and resolutions of the Mahasabha leaders did evoke Muslim resentment. Moonje in his presidential address at the annual Mahasabha session in Patna in April, 1927 said :

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1. Quoted by Gargi Chakravarty : op.cit. p.195 from: Craig Baxter. The Jansangh, New Delhi, p.10.

"I have no value, not the least, for that Swaraj where the Hindu declines daily both in numbers and in influence.....I can only imagine that Swaraj where the Hindu in his forefather's land of Hindustan shall be prospering and supreme, capable of radiating peace and love and brotherhood all round. How can he attain it, living as he does at the present movement, under the dual domination of the British machine-gun and the Moslem Lathi? Shuddhi and Sangathan are the means prescribed by the Hindu Sabha Movement and both reason and common sense dictate that success in this enterprise shall be the harbinger of stable and permanent Hindu-Muslim unity and the Swaraj that shall be Covetable".<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu Sabha had been steadily increasing its popularity among the Hindus, to the detriment of the congress organisation. The congress nationalist leaders could not check the process of its bitter feelings towards the Muslims.

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1. (ed.) Indra Prakash : A Review of the History and work of the Hindu Mahasabha and Hindu Sangathan Movement. Delhi, 1952 p.102.

As noted earlier the Khilafatis who often had their conference in the congress pandal during the early 1920s later became so much bitter against congress that they hardly joined the congress sessions. Khilafatists did not participate even in the proceedings of the All-Parties convention, held in December 1928, for the first three days. Though Mohammad Ali attended it, he did so "in his congress capacity and not as a Khilafatist as the central Khilafat committee was still considering whether to take part in the convention proceedings".<sup>1</sup> Mohd. Ali could not accept the Nehru Report, and what he said in the All-India Khilafat conference held at Calcutta on 23 Dec. 1928 was significant.

"Today Mahatma and Sir Ali Imam would be sitting under the flag and over them would fly the flag of the Union Jack. The Nehru Report admitted the bondage of Servitude and Pt. Motilal's resolution was the worst of all".<sup>2</sup>

Such a comment regarding Gandhi from Mohammad Ali was incredible indeed. It was he who only three years back had written in the comrade :

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1. Quoted by G. Chakravorthy op.cit. p.199.

2. Ibid p.199.

"Our concern is to help Jinnah to formulate a correct programme for the League and to bring them in line with Mahatma Gandhi, who alone observes to lead in India, Muslims as well as Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

From 1927 onwards the Ali brothers had been gradually drifting away from the Congress, Mohd. Ali had accused the Hindus of breaking communal peace. At the Calcutta Khilafat Conference he complained that for the last five years it was the Hindus who were responsible for breaking communal peace.<sup>2</sup>

Even The Mussalman Commented :

".....when the Non-cooperation Movement was in full swing we ourselves held the opinion that the Congress the National Congress-might be the only political body in the country representing the various communities and interests. But we are afraid, we have had to change that opinion as the Congress has ceased to be a national body ....."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See : The Comrade, 9 January, 1925.

2. See : Mohibbul Hassan's : "M.K. Gandhi and the Indian Muslims" article. p 139.

3. The Mussalman, 4 Nov. 1927 p.5.

In his speech at the Jama Masjid on 26 Oct. 1928, Shaukat Ali "lamented the sacrifices made by Muslims to maintain unity with the Hindus and the latter's complete indifference to the just demands of the Muslims". "Although the Muslims are in a minority, backward in education and wealth, yet thousands of their leaders went to Jail gladly for the freedom of their country, and the sacrifices were far greater than those of the Hindus. After the Calcutta and Balia communal riots the Khilafat committee drew the attention of the Hindu leaders and Pt. Motilal Nehru towards the excesses committed against the Muslims in these places, but they did nothing. The Madras congress had paved the way of unity but Pt. Motilal Nehru dismantled it by ignoring the Muslim's demands for separate electorates or reservation of seats".<sup>1</sup>

Shaukat Ali no longer considered congress as a 'national' body, rather according to him, "it has become an adjunct of the Hindu Mahasabha".

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1. Quoted From : Home Political Deptt of the Govt. of India, NAI, 2nd Oct. 1928. File No.1 of p 928.



Inspite of all these activities Gandhiji could not resolve the problem. It was Gandhi who brought Shraddhanand into Politics. Asking Swami Shraddhanand to be the Chairman of the reception committee of the Amritsar Congress (1919), he (Gandhi) expressed the following opinion : ".....my conviction is that, as long as we do not enter into the political field with Dharmic aims, so long as will be unable to succeed in the pure and true amelioration of India. If you become the Chairman of the reception Committee, you will be able to introduce Dharmic feelings within the congress, therefore you should accept the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee. This is the only advice I can give you".<sup>1</sup>

In this way we see that Gandhiji was the main guiding force behind Swami Shraddhanand's entry into politics.

In fact, Shraddhanand entered the Congress "with the desire and hope to spiritualise politics". As, in 1921, Shraddhanand tried to revive the Mahasabha by organising cow-protection Sabha. Gandhi's

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1. Swami Shraddhanand : Inside Congress, Bombay, 1946, p. 102.

Sympathy with this sort of interplay of religion and politics was a definite force behind the oblation of the Muslim masses. Gandhiji joined the Cow-Protection meetings and delivered addresses a number of times. The government records note: "At the cow-protection Conference held at Belgaum in Dec. 1924, a committee was appointed to frame a constitution for the founding of a permanent All India Cow-Protection organisation. This committee met at Delhi on 24 Jan, 1925, and accepted a draft constitution for the All India Cow-protection Mandal prepared by M.K. Gandhi for submission to a meeting of the general public".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi himself explained the draft constitution:

"As cow-protection is one of the important duties upon the Hindus as a part of their religion and as through carelessness the race of the cow is becoming weaker and weaker and as the extent of cow-slaughter is increasing daily, this meeting establishes an institute. Akhil Bhartiya Goraksha Mandal by name, to work for cow-protection in the right direction and with a religious view".<sup>2</sup>

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1. See: Bombay Police Abstract, 1925, Para 694, Mahatma Gandhi: Source National for a History of the freedom movement in India. Vol. III, part II. Op.cit. p.362.

2. *ibid.*

Though Gandhiji joined the cow-protection movement but he was never aggressive towards the Muslims in this respect, while supporting the need for cow-protection, he said in 1925: "It was no use blaming Mohammedans and the Englishmen on the cow question, as the Hindus had neglected their own duties."<sup>1</sup>

But some of his activities could not be reconciled with his stature. Even during his tour in the Kumaon division in 1929, Gandhi "Congratulated the workers of the Prem Sabha and the Gaushala on their work for the cause of Hindu and cow-protection".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi's retirement from Politics and his keeping away from drafting of constitutional amendments, combined with his sudden concern over cow, particularly when the Muslims were sensitive over it, convinced the Muslims of Gandhi's close association with the Mahasabha leaders. An open letter to Mahatma Gandhi from the Frontier-Ulemas published in the 'Moslem Outlook' on 11th August, 1927, deserves mention in this respect, the

1. See: Bombay Police Abstract, 1925 para 694 Op.cit, p.363.

Quoted also by : G- Chakravartty :op.cit p.203.

2. ibid , p.443.

last words being : "Gandhiji , It is time to bid farewell to your wilful connivance. Advice Malviya, Moonje and Lajpat to give up their evil ways. Let them know publicly that they should forgo their anti-Muslim programme, And Mahatmajī , if you do not care to mind this message of ours the responsibility will lie with you and other Hindu leaders".<sup>1</sup>

The congress policy and Gandhi's association with the Mahasabhaites alienated Ali brothers not merely from the Congress but from the nationalist Muslims as well. Dr. Ansari realised this, and what he wrote to Shaukat Ali was no doubt a "Sad reflection". As he stated : "I have never said or done any thing against you or your brother which was in any way detrimental or derogatory to you in private or public capacity. But, I cannot say the same thing about you..... I can never again be the same to you as I have been before. It is a very bad reflection".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted from : Home Pol. File No.217, 1928 NAI.

2. Dr. Ansari to Shaukat Ali dated 14.5, 1929  
Quoted in Mushirul Hasan: op.cit p 66.

The whole controversy over the Nehru Report was brought to an end at the Lahore Congress of 1929. The congress declared " the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's Report to have lapsed". The congress leader's entire attention was henceforth drawn to the "attainment of complete independence of India".<sup>1</sup>

The Lahore congress resolution was not accepted by the bulk of the Indian Muslims. The Mussalman, in its editorial, "A move in the wrong Directions", wrote:

"The congress, we must unreservedly say, has committed a blunder by adopting Mr. Gandhi's resolution".<sup>2</sup>

At the All parties conference in April 1930, Mohd. Ali said: "we refuse to join Gandhi because his movement (civil disobedience) is not a movement for complete independence of India but for making seventy millions of Indian Mussalman dependent on the Hindu Mahasabha"<sup>3</sup>. It was strange to find Shaukat Ali opposing the Independence resolution in 1930, since earlier in 1920 it

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1. See: INC Resolution, 1929, p. 58 Resolution No.4 AICC.

2. The Mussalman, 2 January'1930.

3. Quoted by G. Chakravartty : op. cit. p.207  
From R. Coupland. The Indian Problem (1833-1955)  
p.111.

was he who wrote in an article in The Leader that  
 "the non-cooperation movement was a movement for  
 absolute independence".<sup>1</sup>

The Khilafatists who joined the 1921 movement  
 kept aloof from the 1930 civil disobedience movement.

By this time persons like Mohd. Ali had turned  
 totally against the Congress two days before his death.  
 Mohd. Ali wrote to the Prime Minister of England on  
 1 January 1931:

"The Congress followed the Hindu Mahasabha in  
 refusing even to come to the Round Table  
 Conference for a settlement when a settlement  
 was inevitable before an Indian Constitution  
 could be framed".<sup>2</sup>

This was not the case of Mohd. Ali alone, but  
 most of the Muslim leaders in general. The Lahore  
 Congress procession was undoubtedly large" but "Muslims  
 did not attend as a class".

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1. From : Home Poll Deposit, File No. 78, June 1920, NAI.

2. See : Selected writings and speeches of Maulana  
 Mohd. Ali op.cit, p. 477.

The Muslim joined the congress politics during the Non-cooperation struggle and remained firm supporters of Gandhiji even when the cause of Khilafat disappeared. In fact some of them never wanted to suspend Civil disobedience forever after Bardoli. But their concern for absolute independence, their regard for Gandhi and their earnest desire for Hindu-Muslim Unity were all swept away by an adverse current of Hindu revivalist infiltration within the Congress. Hindu Phraseology, religious terminology and the advocacy for cow-protection by leaders like Gandhi bred misunderstanding among the Muslim leaders and alienated them. Religious fairs like Kumbha Mela at Allahabad in 1930 became an "occasion for propaganda in favour of the civil Disobedience Movement".<sup>1</sup>

Congress -Hindu link might have been purely coincidental, but it left an adverse mark on the National politics. The Muslims could not appreciate the Hindu overtones of the Congress and congress responsibility on this score can never be ignored. Organisational lapses of congressmen, as analysed by Jawahar Lal Nehru, was

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1. Pandey, G.N. : The Ascendancy of the Congress in the Uttar Pradesh 1920-34: A study in imperfect Mobilisation. New Delhi 1978, p.125.

also an important reason. Nehru said :

"We failed because we had long neglected working among the Muslim masses and we could not reach them in time. But where we reached, especially in the rural areas, we found almost, the same response, the same anti-imperialist spirit, as in others. The Communal problem, of which we hear so much, seemed to be utterly non-existent, when we talked to the peasant, Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. We failed also among the Muslims because of their much smaller electorate which could easily be manipulated and coerced by authority and vested interests. But I am convinced that, even so, we would have had a much larger measure of success if we paid more attention to the Muslim masses".

Thus Gandhi's temporary retirement to Sabarmati Ashram abstaining from the Congress session and his total silence over the Hindu Mahasabha demands alienated the Ali brothers and a large section of the Muslims from the Congress.

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1. Quoted by G. Chakravartty: op.cit. p.211.  
From : Presidential address of the All India National convention of congress legislature: I.A.R. 1937 Vol.I. pp 207-208.



## C O N C L U S I O N

### CONCLUSION

Gandhiji did his best to unite the Hindus and the Muslims. But he did not achieve the same measure of success in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity as he did in conducting his campaign for national freedom or in drawing up a comprehensive and integrated plan of Indian nationhood and national culture. The glorious spectacle of Hindus and Muslims embracing one another as real brothers, struggling and suffering, rotting in prisons, facing lathis and bullets for a common cause that India saw in 1921 and 1922 proved to be a passing show. And yet it cannot be said that his sincere and devoted efforts were totally ineffective. Even here Gandhiji did establish that non-violence as practised by him and the true followers could check the acute symptom of mutual hatred which is the immediate cause of Hindu-Muslim riots, though he could not prove that it could radically cure the chronic malady of cowardly fear which is the real cause of these violent clashes and the real obstacle in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity.

So we are obliged to disagree with Gandhi's view that the whole movement of national freedom that he led for three decades in India was not based on morally inspired

non-violence but merely on politically motivated passive resistance.

Gandhi's sincerity and devotion to the cause of communal harmony are unquestionable. His quest for Hindu-Muslim unity was noble and exalted in its motivation but his efforts to unite the Hindus and the Muslim against British imperialism in India went unrewarded and ended in failure. Ever since Gandhi's active participation in Indian freedom movement the achievement of Hindu-Muslim unity always remained one of his major preoccupations. His public life in India is not only a story of his endeavour to free the country from British bondage but also to resolve the Hindu-Muslim conflict and establish communal peace. But Gandhiji failed in his mission to unite the two communities.

Gandhiji's failure to solve the Hindu-Muslim question in India can be attributed to his inadequate understanding of the nature of the problem of communalism. His perception of the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations suffered from certain serious limitations. He failed to look at the problem in its proper historical perspective and, therefore, could not develop a

proper approach to its examination. To him Hindu-Muslim tension in India was essentially due to religious differences of two communities. He believed that it is a problem of religious misunderstanding and intolerance so he tried to solve it through religion.

In Gandhian perception, religious issues such as cow-slaughter and music before mosque etc., have been a constant source of communal violence in India, arose only due to religious misunderstanding and intolerance between the two communities. In his opinion. There is no legal solution to Hindu-Muslim conflict arising out of religious issues because it cannot satisfy both the Hindus and the Muslims. It can only satisfy one party and make the other embittered. So both the parties had to adopt an attitude of religious tolerance and mutual trust to achieve lasting peace. Thus for Gandhi religious tolerance and mutual trust are the only ways to resolve the Hindu-Muslim conflict. Gandhi advised both the communities to respect one another's religion and mutually trust each other.

The religious differences of the two communities are not the real or sole cause of Hindu-Muslim conflict. Therefore, Gandhi's attempt to resolve Hindu-Muslim conflict

merely by teaching the equality of all religions was bound to fail unless basic conflicts of interests between the communities were resolved. Hindu-Muslim conflict is not a conflict between, Hinduism and Islam. It is essentially a conflict of political and economic interests of particular classes of both the communities which mobilized the religious sentiments and susceptibilities of the large masses of Hindus and Muslims "social conflict with political, economic and cultural Motivation rooted deep in history".<sup>1</sup>

It is fact that the British rule and policy was the main reason of hatred between the two communities. Gandhiji is right in his statement "Prior to British rule there was no trace of the type of Hindu-Muslim conflict, . It is the British rule, and especially with the later period of British rule. There were wars between states which had Hindu or Muslim rulers; but these wars at no time took on the character of a Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Mus'lim rulers employed Hindus freely in the highest positions and the Vice-versa".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Quoted by  
In Gandhian Approach to Communal Harmony from Bandyopadhyaya J. Social and Political Thought of Gandhi, pp.172-73.
  2. Dutt, R.P.: India Today and Tomorrow p.225.

In Gandhi's Opinion the Hindu Muslim problem is a creation of British government. He was so convinced about the truth of this belief that he declared" that communal division in India can be demonstrately proved to be a British Creation".<sup>1</sup> And, therefore, he thought that the communal problem would wither away on the dawn of India's independence. "The moment the alien wedge is removed, the divided communities are bound to unite".<sup>2</sup>

The British had always tried to keep the two communities separate from each other to sustain their rule in India. The British, no doubt derived immense advantage by playing one community against the other. They could be "accused of taking advantage of , and deliberately aggravating a conflict situation which was already there, but not of creating the conflict through some diabolical magic out of nothing".<sup>3</sup>

Gandhi took a very simplistic view of the British Policy of divide and rule. He did not take into consideration the factors which could make the policy of divide

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1. Tendulkar : Mahatma. Vol.III, p.138.

2. Tendulkar : Mahatma. Vol.III, p.138.

3. Bandyopadhyaya. J. op. cit. p. 178,

and rule effective. The socio-religious differences of the Hindus and the Muslims alone did not help the British in their policy of divide and Rule. There was something more to it. The British could play one community against the other because of the conflicting politico-economic interests of the two communities. The British exploited the situation in which both the communities found their political and economic interests, endangered. Thus the British had some time sided with and patronized one community when it posed a threat to their rule and vice-versa. The Anglo-Hindu alliance before 1870 and the Anglo-Muslim alliance in the 20th century can be instanced here. Thus, the situation of the British divide and rule Policy could not be checked by Gandhiji.

The dominant congress leadership of the national movement was undoubtedly free from religious narrow-mindedness. On the level of ideas, the Congress certainly appeared as a purely national organisation. Moreover, in the whole history of the movement there is no trace of communalism in its accepted sense. The dominant tendency has been to refuse to take into consideration on the political level the religious distinctions found in Indian Society. However,

as one moves from the level of ideas and ideology to the level of facts, the congress appeared to be characterized by two conflicting tendencies. On the one hand, a group of leaders in the tradition of the founding fathers of the Indian National congress sought to create a broad-based secular nationalism in India and tried to exalt Hindu-Muslim unity at the national level by attempting to define nationalism in territorial and economic terms and the national movement as a common struggle against the British. It carried on active propaganda and forged a movement for achieving Hindu-Muslim unity. But it failed to launch a frontal political and ideological attack on Hindu communalism within its own ranks and outside, because second class leaders, who in the garb of political modernism refused to recognise religious distinctions on the political level but in practice equated the Indian Nation with the dominant Hindu class. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru may be cited here in this context. "Many a congress men was a communalist under his national cloak".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Which, J: Autobiography cited in Wolpert. S.A. Roots of Confrontation in South Asia, p.99.



A comment was made by Imtiaz Ahmad: "one of the characteristics of multiethnic and plural societies is that the communalism of the politically dominant communities in them quite often finds a greater deal of the expression through nationalism and patriotic posture, while the minorities have to build their separatist structures of sentiments in opposition to the dominant communities".<sup>1</sup>

Therefore", the starting point of this attack had to be the recognition of the fact that communalism of the majority and the minority had to be curbed. They were bound to be different in form even while being the same in content. Because of its very character..... The majority communalists, on the other hand know that the democratic principle of majority rule can give them them opportunity to implement their programme of cultural, religious and social domination and the capacity to corner jobs and other opportunities".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Nehru, J: Autobiography cited in Wolpert, S.A. Roots of Confrontation in South Asia. p.99.

2. Bipin Chandra : Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India , pp. 263-264.

The congress leadership on the contrary permitted, "openly communal elements to join the congress and even occupy positions of leadership in it from the local to the All India plane, or otherwise to acquire and retain the reputation of being nationalist without any repudiation by congress and other nationalist leaders".<sup>1</sup>

The Hindu religious tinge of the national movement had alienated muslims and forced them to think of preserving their religious identity. "Revivalism among the Hindus and its association with the national movement was in no way helpful in bringing the Muslims into the national movement. It had become difficult to have a line of demarcation between Hindu nationalism and Indian nationalism because of the fact" that a great deal of Hindu religious sentiment found its expression through Indian nationalism".<sup>2</sup>

The aggressive Hindu cultural revivalism was not only directed against western economic, political and cultural domination but also against the minorities having a

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1. Ibid. p.264.

2. See Gangadharan, Sociology of Revivalism, also L. Dumont Nationalism and Communalism contribution to India Sociology, NO.7, p.1964.

distinctive culture and - importantly, a culture with roots in foreign regions.

One should not ignore that much of the literature and symbolism which fired Hindu nationalism against the British had a large content of anti-Muslim bias. One of the most noteworthy literary figures who inspired Bengali nationalism was Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Most of his inspiring writings and speeches on nationalism were exclusively Hindu in character. His Novel, Anandmath, which gave India its first national song- Bande Matram- portrayed the struggle of a religiously inspired political group against a Muslim ruler".<sup>1</sup>

The Arya Samaj, a religion-based organisation, played a prominent role in the national Movement, was not merely anti-British but also anti-Muslim. The publication of Rangila Rasool under the auspices of the Arya Samaj is one of the instances. "Many Congress leaders took up the cause of Hindi not so much against,

: English as against Urdu and propagated it not on grounds of democracy and democratic culture but on

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1. See : Ratna Naidu, The Communal Edge of Plural Societies, p.13.

openly communal grounds. Urdu was branded as a foreign language of the Muslims, while Hindi was praised as the language of Hindus".<sup>1</sup>

This was a fair portent for the Muslim of subjugation politically, culturally and also religiously on the attainment of independence from British rule. Thus the nature and social character of the national Movement not only failed to attract Muslims towards it but also strengthened the separatist tendencies among the Muslims.

Gandhi, after having assumed the leadership of the national movement, laid greater emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity in the struggle for Swaraj. But he failed to attract the Muslims, whose separate political and cultural identity was established into the national movement. It is to be noted that Gandhiji did not strike a new track to resolve the problem but kept to the traditional approach and followed the same strategy unity from the top in which his predecessors failed. He also tried to unite the Hindus and the Muslims through a scheme of pacts or compromises on political and economic interests between the leaders of the two communities. However, the

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1. Bipin Chandra : op. cit : p 267.

only new element in Gandhi's approach to the problem was the introduction of spiritualism and morals in the resolution of the problem. He held that "the restoration of friendly feelings is a condition precedent to any effective pacts ....". "Communal pacts, whilst they are good if they can be had, are valueless unless they are backed by the union of hearts" which can be developed by mutual trust, and mutual respect among the members of the two communities".<sup>1</sup>

But Gandhi's approach did not produce any positive results in the attempt to unite the Hindus and the Muslims. Gandhi failed to develop friendly feelings, mutual trust and mutual respect among members of the two communities. The Muslim, in general, could not dissociate Gandhi's Spiritual approach to the communal problem from his Hindu background. To the Muslim he was no more than a Hindu leader, making subtle use of religion and spirituality as a bargaining counter in favour of the Hindu community. On the other hand, Muslim separatist leadership took full advantage of Gandhi's approach to the problem and strengthened the separatist tendencies among the Muslim masses on

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1. Gandhi M.K. : The way to communal Harmony, p.28, also CWMG vol.24. p 152.

religious, political and cultural grounds.

Gandhi's approach to the problem had also certain weaknesses. He had never given serious thought to the problem of Muslim separatism and the particular class interest involved in it. While he was aware of the fact that the 'Hindu-Muslim problem is a middle and upper class phenomenon and the masses of common people remained far from it.<sup>1</sup>

But he failed to recognise the fact that the politico-economic interests which are involved in the problem did not concern the common masses but only a particular class of the community. Thus he could not distinguish between the interest of middle and upper classes of Muslims and common Muslim masses.

The separatist movement among the Muslims represents a particular class interest which had nothing to do with the Muslim masses at large. The competition for government jobs, political representation on

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1. See Tendulkar. Vol. III. p 138.

elective bodies and preservation of cultural values were not the concern of Muslim masses but of the middle and upper classes of the Muslim community. Muslim separatism did not promise any radical change in the social and economic life of the common Muslims. They would continue to be exploited in any case by the Muslims as well as Hindu landlords.

Like the earlier leadership of the national movement, Gandhi made an attempt to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity from the top instead of from below. He did not realise the fact that unity from top is a futile exercise because of certain inevitable factors. One of them was the need to safeguard the political and economic interests of the middle and upper classes of the Muslims.

Gandhi was not in favour of separate electorates for the Muslims which was granted by the British to them in 1909. In his opinion "Separate electorates have resulted in the separation of hearts. They presupposed mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust."<sup>1</sup>

1. Gandhi, M.K. Communal Unity, p 139.

Therefore, separate electorates are a hurdle in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity. He was aware of the fact that separate electorates for the Muslims are a mechanism for ensuring a share in political power. He said "what the Mussalmans want is not separate electorates for their own sake but they want their own real representatives to be sent to the legislatures and other elective bodies".<sup>1</sup> So he suggested that separate electorates should be ended because their demand for real representatives of their community can be secured. "by private arrangements, rather than legal imposition. There is flexibility about private arrangements. A legal imposition tends to become rigid..... private arrangement means a domestic settlement of democratic quarrels and a solid wall of united opposition against a common enemy the foreign rule".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi's proposal was that the election of the desired and agreed number of Muslim candidates can be secured in a given constituency under a joint ticket

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1. Gandhi, M.K., The way to communal Harmony, p 149, also CWMG Vol.26, p 162.

1. CWMG Vol.26. p 162.



provided Hindus develop the spirit of trust with the Mussalmans. "So far as political matters are concerned ..... I hold that it is upto the Hindus as major party not to bargain..... It is my opinion, the only just, equitable, honourable and dignified solution".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi advocated that the Minority (Muslims) should be inspired with confidence in their bonafides. This is possible only if the majority had the courage to make a voluntary surrender to the minority. Therefore, Gandhi held that under joint electorates Hindus should elect Mussalmans as their representatives. Hindus should not run after seats in the legislature and other elective bodies. Let all these be occupied by the Muslims. Thus in Gandhi's opinion separate electorates could be replaced by a joint electorate which would bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. But such a proposal was acceptable neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims.

Gandhiji did not openly denounce this religious characteristic of the national movement. The religious

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1. CWMG : Vol.24. p 152.

overtone of his approach was essentially Hindu, had strengthened the belief among the Muslims that the Indian national movement under Gandhi's leadership was essentially a Hindu revivalist movement. The Indian National Congress was never free from Hindu communal forces. Its door were always open to people actively associated with religion-based organisations. Persons like Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Swami Shraddhanand, Balgangadhar Tilak, freely sailed between the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress. And Gandhi associated <sup>leaders</sup> him self with these, and attempted to justify their conduct and was even open to their influence. Gandhiji failed to distinguish between the nationalist and the communalist. Not only did he fail to dissociate them from the congress but always defended them publicly against the charges of their being communal.<sup>1</sup>

That apart he also failed to check the Hindu overtones of Indian nationalism. "The ideological basis of the national movement from its very inception was

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1. See : Mohibbul Hasan ; Mahatma Gandhi and the India Muslims in BSW as S.C. (ed) Gandhi theory and practice: Social impact and Contemporary Relevance Vol.II. p.142.

encompassed within a reaffirmation of traditional Hindu value ....."<sup>1</sup> "For one thing, the concept of nationalism was itself improvised through the use of certain Hindu duties, such as Durga, Laxmi, Saraswati. Secondly, several of the supposedly secular and nationalist leaders Mobilised the collective emotion of their religious group, that is, they had to appeal to religion in the name of the nation-to-come".<sup>2</sup> Gandhi's life is full of Hindu philosophy and culture. "His life, manners and speech were those of a Hindu par-excellence indeed a self-alenegating Hindu a Mahatma-who according to Hindu tradition, should be held in reverence. He drew his inspiration principally from the Hindu holy book, the Gita. He talked of Indian independence as Ramraj, the rule of the Hindu God, Ram: the struggle for it was to him Dharma Yudha which to any one would mean Hindu religious war".<sup>3</sup>

Even then Gandhiji himself admitted a sanatani Hindu. "I call my self a sanatani Hindu because. I

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1. Gangadhar : Sociology and Reinvovlism p 61-62.
  2. L. DomOut: Nationalism and Communalism Contribution to Indian Sociology No.7, 1964, p.62.
  3. K. Sarwar Hasan : Gandhi and the Congress: A Muslim view in Lewis, M. D. (ed.) , Gandhi Maker of Modern India, p 44.

believe in vedas, varnashramadharma Cow-Protection, idol-worship, and in rebirth".<sup>1</sup>

How could he become a National leader of all the communities of India. His tendency to interplay the forces of religion and politics led to religious revivalism. This could not attract the Muslims towards the congress and the national movement and left them embittered. It is, therefore, not surprising that the communal Muslims condemned the congress as a Hindu organization and Gandhiji as a Hindu revivalist. Under these circumstances it would be impossible to project before the Muslims an image of the Indian National Congress as a secular and national organization. Beside "there could be no place for Muslims in a Patriotism whose images were the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, and such a Patriotism was obviously not destined to make for the union between Hindus and Muslims".<sup>2</sup>

Gandhi's alignment with the leaders of the Khilafat Movement was the most successful effort at Hindu

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1. Homar : The Gandhi reader p 168.

2. Imtiaz Khan: op. cit. p 83.

Muslim unity in the course of National Movement. But such a success in uniting the Hindus and the Muslims against foreign rule was short lived. One of the reasons of Hindus and Muslims coming closer was the identical interests of both the communities. The Khilafat and non-cooperation movements were directed against the British. Muslims, on the one hand, were agitating for the restoration of Khilafat institution and so they wanted the help of non Muslims. Hindus, on the other, supported the Khilafat just to bring the Muslim masses in a struggle against British rule in India. It was to serve the religious interest of the Muslims on the one hand and political interest of the congress Hindus on the other. Muslim participation in the Khilafat and non-cooperation movements was primarily an expression of their loyalty to the religious institution of the Khilafat: But when the Khilafat Movement ended in failure, Muslims started drifting away from the National Movement. And they again returned once more to the old problems of the community as had already been shown, the product of economic and political interests which divided the

Muslim and the Hindu communities. Gandhi's success to unite both communities could not prove permanent but it was a momentary success.

The Gandhian solution of this problem , by leading , the Khilafat Movement started crumbling when the Non-cooperation movement was called off. The riots took part in the country. The Moplah rising of August 1921, the Mullan riot of 1924 and the Kohat riot of Sep. 1924 gave a fatal blow to Hindu-Muslim unity. Some of Gandhi's statements in connection with these riots were greatly resented by the Muslims and created misunderstanding, writing in Young India on April 2, 1925, he observed, "The Mussalmans take less interest (in the internal political life and advancement of the country) .... because they do not yet regard India as their home for which they must feel proud".<sup>1</sup> On the communal disturbances, he wrote that "Mussalman as a rule is a bully, and the Hindu as a rule is a coward".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Gandhi: M.K. The way to communal Harmony p.113, See also CWMG, Vol. 26, p.442.

2. CWMG Vol., p.142.

Thus, he imposed this blame that Muslims alone were responsible for communal riots.

He wrote again in Young India on June 19, 1924, "The Mussalman being generally in a minority has a class developed into a bully..... Bullying is the natural excrescence of an aggressive spirit. The Hindu has an age old civilization. He is essentially non-violent..... The Hindus as a body are, therefore, not equipped for fighting. They have become docile to the point of cowardice. This vice is, therefore, the natural excrescence of gentleness".<sup>1</sup>

Gandhi appealed to Muslims to forbear because "being bullies", they could fight and fight well and could protect themselves from the attacks of Hindus. On the contrary, he advised the Hindus to fight back because "quarrels must break out so long as the Hindus continue to be seized with fear. Bullies are always to be found when there are cowards. The Hindus must understand that no one can afford them protection if they go on hugging fear".<sup>2</sup>

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1. *ibid.* p. 64.

2. *ibid.* p. 312.

No doubt there were surprising statements made by Gandhiji. How these statements can unite many communities ~~living~~ in India.

Again, "his description of Urdu as the religious language of the Muslims, tacit support to the Shuddhi Movement, indifference towards the unity conferences and suspicions regarding the lack of respect on the part of the Muslims in the past of India projected him as a Hindu leader".<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, "he was described as a Hindu leader who wanted to establish a 'Bania Raj' in the country or a tool in the hands of the Hindu revivalists and the reactionaries".<sup>2</sup>

There is a love-affair story, by this story we guess of Gandhian sincerity towards the Muslims. The letters reveal that Mahmud (Muslim) was a family friend of Ramdas, Gandhi's third son. It is said that Mahmud

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1. Moin Shakir: op.cit. p 8.

2. *ibid.* pp 17,18.



and Sumitra, Ramdas' daughter, ~~felt~~ in love. Her parents agreed to the proposed marriage, since Sumitra would not be any more happy in life' without Mahmud; but that the parents failed to secure Gandhi's approval. Gandhiji said that he was opposed to Sumitra's union with Mahmud he was against what he termed as 'Love Marriage' while he had given his blessings to several "Love marriages " in the past : Ramdas Gandhi and Nirmala, Devadas Gandhi and Laxmi, Kanu and Abha and Firozgandhi and Indira Gandhi. The only conclusion arrives at is that Gandhi Sabotaged the proposed union between his grand daughter and Mahmud, even after his son had given his consent, because Mahmud happened to be a Muslim.<sup>1</sup>

In such circumstances, how Gandhiji might get success in uniting the two communities Refusing the marriage of Sumitra with Mahmud proved that Gandhiji did not like to marry his grand daughter with a Muslim. Gandhiji, in the late twenties had come to the conclusion that the Hindu-Muslim problem was beyond his control. The failure of the Khilafat Movement, the Non-cooperation Movement, disappointed him. He became

~~1. See, Mahatma Gandhi, from a bunch of letters written~~  
 by Gandhi-Ramdas Sumitra Gandhi and others-  
 addressed to Kazi Ashraf Mahmud of Faridpur  
 District, East Pakistan and compiled by him under  
 the title "Utter Box of An unknown man. (Dacca 1970).  
 See also: Qaid-i-Azam Jinnah by S.A. Mujahid p.201.  
 B.R. Publishing House, Delhi 1985.

nervous, to see the communal riots. He was disappointed and desperate. As early as January 1927, he told a meeting at Comilla in Bengal that Hindu-Muslim Problem had passed out of human hands into God's hands.<sup>1</sup> Writing to Jinnah in May 1927 he said, "I wish I could do something but I am utterly helpless. My faith in unity is as bright as ever, only I see no daylight out of the impenetrable darkness and in such darkness, I cry out to God for light".<sup>1</sup> He was so much desperate at his failure to unite the Hindus and the Muslims that he said, "I have learnt more and more to resign myself utterly to his grace".<sup>2</sup> Gandhi admitted that interdining and intermarriage are not the causes of communal problem. The causes of discord are economic and political, and it is these that have to be removed. But this statement was not followed by any solid solution of the problem. Gandhiji however, concentrated more and more on spiritual conversion and changing the hearts of both the communities solving their problems. But ~~no~~ nobody accepted it, because no one wanted to

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1. Quoted in J.K. Majumdar. Jinnah and Gandhi , p 139.

2. D. S. Tendulkar: Mahatma Vol.V. p.184.

surrender voluntary of one's political and economic interests in favour of others.

His constructive programme also failed to attract the Muslim Masses towards him. On the contrary, his ideal society constantly referred to as Ram Rajya contributed to Muslim alienation rather than to Muslim association. For the Muslims, Ramrajya was nothing but Hindu Raj. Thus Gandhi could successfully mobilize the Indian Masses (non-Muslims) through conservative ideas of Hindu religion but he failed to mobilize the Muslim masses in the struggle for India's independence. An Indian political Scientist points out: "In many respects, Gandhi was a rather conservative Hindu. In his philosophy and methods, in his daily rituals and routine, in prayer and preachings, in his attempt to rouse the masses through Hindu religious songs like the Ramdhun, in his constant reference to Ramraj as the ideal form of state and society that was expected to emerge after Swaraj, in his life long struggle for the cause of Hinduism than a secular and humanitarian cause in his practically life-long support of the caste system and his opposition to cow-slaughter

and in many other respects, he was a thoroughly orthodox Hindu and proudly declared himself to be so. Indeed, no historian worth his salt can deny the fact that in many ways Mahatma Gandhi was one of the greatest architects of Hindu revivalism in Modern India. Gandhi as a Person, his philosophy and methodology were, therefore, particularly unsuited to the resolution of the Hindu-Muslim conflict. A party to a dispute cannot hope to assume successfully the role of the judge or the arbiter. In order to bring about a harmony between contending forces, one has to rise above and beyond those forces. Gandhiji failed to do so".<sup>1</sup>

The Muslim leadership was in the hands of upper and middle classes became the natural leaders of their community because of the traditional feudal socio-political structure of the community. This leadership could mobilise, the Muslim masses on religious and cultural, if not economic issues and could isolate them from the Indian National Movement and from the leadership of Gandhiji. So Gandhiji's attempt to win over the Muslim leadership proved futile.

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1. Quoted From; Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah by, S.A. Mujahid.  
B.R. Publishing Corp. Delhi, 1985, pp 209-10.

See also - Bandyopadhyay, J. Social and Political thought of Gandhi, Calcutta 1969.

Thus, Gandhiji's quest for Hindu-Muslim unity ended in failure. But he would be remembered as the first Hindu leader who, preached, fasted, wrote and suffered much for his own perception of unity between the two major communities.

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